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No. 731

LAOS IS MARCHING FORWARD ALONG
THE GLORIOUS PATH OF THE ERA

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LAOS IS MARCHING FORWARD ALONG THE GLORIOUS PATH OF THE ERA

Vientiane PATHET LAO PHOUAM KAO DEUN BON SEN TANG AN SA-NGA
NGAM KHONG GNOUK SAMAI in Lao 1976 pp 1-227

[Book by Kaysone Phomvihan]

[Text] Foreword

In a political thought training session in December 1974 Kaysone Phomvihan, vice chairman of the Lao Patriotic Front Central Committee, addressed cadre and combatants concerning the principles underlying the profound changes in the structure of the world in the present era and the principles underlying the leap forward in the development of Laos which have come up to par with the high level of this era.

The contents of this address are pertinent to the situation which has come into being in Laos and to the new and urgent duties of Lao people of all nationalities in the current period. Using clear analysis and broad synthesis, the address seeks to create recognition on a scientific basis of the principles of change and the necessary direction of development of human society in general and of Lao society in particular; from that foundation to bolster the belief by cadre, combatants, and all our people in the certain victory of the path of the revolution and the glorious future of the Lao nation; and to promote perseverance in each of us to mold ourselves into new people with sufficient qualities and qualifications to take part in the great work of our nation with all our strength and abilities.

This address was broadcast by radio in December 1974. Since then new developments in the situation in the world, in Indochina, and in Laos itself prove even more clearly the major observations which Kaysone Phomvihan raised as being significant in this address.

With the approval of Kaysone Phomvihan, the Printing and Distribution Office of the Lao Patriotic Front has printed the address in book form in order to

help all our fraternal people, far and near, study it thoroughly and to give our nation one line of thought and one action in the task of saving and building the nation.

Printing and Distribution Office
of the Lao Patriotic Front

Thousands of years ago we Lao established our homes and remained on the Indochinese Peninsula which in ancient times was called the Golden Peninsula (or Heavenly Land) and was filled with fantasy and amazing legends. Our people were rich in diligence and the land was full of abundant rice paddy plains, plateaus as broad as the eye can see, great, magnificent forests, rich resources in land and water, and masses of mountains attesting to their enduring and firm strength. They constantly struggled with and were victorious over various perils and passed through trying situations and many difficult stretches of road in order to continue to survive and grow. The belief in construction and preservation of the nation by peoples of all nationalities developed strongly beginning with the time of Prince Fa Ngum, the clever hero, who unified territories into one entity and established the majestic kingdom of Lan Xang.

The history of our nation is a history of many generations of Lao people who followed one another in the task of building a homeland with their own sweat and blood and who fought resolutely and bravely to preserve the land of the Lao under the leadership of national heroes of exceeding virtue, such as Sam Sen Thai, Phothisalat, Setthathilat, Suriyavongsa, and Prince Anu, as well as the revolutionary heroes of the present era who have made glorious marks on the brilliant, heroic pages of history. In the present era of the great wave of revolution the history of Laos is a history of a nation without extensive land, with a small population, and a backward economy, but standing shoulder-to-shoulder with fraternal nations, united in a single destiny of pulling themselves up to the level of the era with an amazingly strong and daring power of self-improvement and winning victory over the biggest, richest, and strongest imperialists in the capitalist world who are more wicked and profoundly and thoroughly corrupt than ever before in history.

Those are events which have taken place in the last nearly one-third of a century. Our people have made their choice and have decided to travel along the glorious path of the era. Each step is one stage in the great victory on the path to Utopia. After World War II ended in complete victory for the forces of socialism, nationalism, democracy, and peace who defeated the fascist forces of the world, our people in concert with neighboring fraternal peoples rose up and liberated ourselves and declared the independence of our respective nations. But at a time when the people of the world were boiling with a sky-high spirit of revenge to punish the fascist aggressors, the old-style colonialists returned to invade, conquer, and seize control of Indochina once more. Our people and the people of fraternal countries rose up and boldly carried on wars of national salvation for a second time and won the acknowledged historic victory which was recognized in the Geneva Agreements of 1954 concerning Indochina. But before long the U.S. imperialists began to interfere in and invade our country, replacing the French colonialists, in hopes of making our country into a base for aggression and a new type of colony of theirs. However, our people did not give in even a little when it became necessary to wage war once again. This time it was war against U.S. neocolonialism. It was an extremely miserable and difficult struggle over a period of almost 20

years. This period of war ended in a victory unprecedented in the history of our nation. It forced the opposite side to sign an agreement at Vientiane on 21 February 1973 and the Vientiane Protocols on 14 September 1973, after which the Provisional Government of National Union and the National Political Council of Coalition were formed on 5 April 1974 and Vientiane and Luang Prabang were neutralized.

That was a great victory with historic and contemporary aspects. That victory was the great accomplishment of the resolute revolutionary struggle, of willingness of the people to make all kinds of sacrifices for the sake of winning independence and freedom. It built up pride and confidence which never before existed in our peoples. It opened up a wondrously hopeful outlook by our people concerning the work of bolstering peace and implementing independence, national harmony, democracy, unity, and lasting prosperity. But the great historic victory went beyond national boundaries. It had contemporary aspects as well since it was a victory of the Indochinese people united in a life or death struggle against a common enemy, namely the biggest imperialist, aggressor and gang leader which appointed itself policeman of the world under its imperial yoke and which intended to use Indochina, the center of revolution, as a testing ground for the destructive might of the U.S. superpower in suppressing revolutionary forces and in imposing neocolonialism throughout the world.

That historic victory was a victory of the Lao people of all nationalities. It was a victory of the spirit of self-improvement and the belief in unity of all people to resist external aggression. It was a victory of the independent-minded desire to be one's own master and to resist aggression, division, and betrayal which has continued since the days of our grandparents. It was a brave and daring struggle in which people of all nationalities and tribes participated in every place and in every occasion under many forms: sometimes silent, sometimes noisy; combining armed struggle and other forms of struggle by people of all classes in rural areas as well as in the towns. Clearly, there was participation by large numbers of youth, students and intellectuals in the capital city of Vientiane, and the royal capital of Luang Prabang, as well as in many other towns before and after the signing of the Vientiane Agreement. Among the masses there was a festive atmosphere good for displaying their strength and willpower. People in the two neutralized cities rejoiced in the victory and gave an enormous welcoming salute to the chairman, Prince Souphanouvong, and other leaders of the Lao Patriotic Front on their entry into the two neutralized cities from the liberated areas. After that the struggle for the achievement of national concord and bolstering peace and independence, which had just been attained, was raised to a steady, strong stream. That was one of the beautiful results of national consciousness and the spirit to struggle for peace, independence and national concord of the people in the two capital cities and throughout the country. This showed the strong desire for free, democratic rights, the right to life, and legal and moral justice for all our people and their determined will to realize their aspirations. We inherited this consciousness and spirit from our ancestors. They control the thoughts and actions of each and all of us. They are the loud, brave,

glorious answer of people of all classes including young people and students in the towns and villages.

The events which are presently occurring are not happening by accident. They pass through a progressive development of sprouting, growing and bursting into bloom in the same way that the grains of rice that we eat every day are the product of a long progressive development from sowing, to transplanting, to fertilizing, to harvesting while enduring the effects of weather and environment. All the great historic victories of our nation are the highest collective achievements of our national strength from the time our homeland was first established until now as well as of the era in which we live. This era is one of very fierce struggle between two forces. One force is composed of the people of all the countries which have been liberated and are strengthening and expanding their independence and lasting prosperity, namely, the socialist countries, the nationalist countries, and the oppressed countries faced with aggression which are conducting energetic struggles in one form or another. The other force is composed of the capitalist powers, the imperialists, and the colonialists of which fascist Germany, Italy and Japan were formerly the worst and for several decades the imperialist United States has been the leader.

We are traveling on the correct path of the era, the path on which the human race is carrying on a struggle for self-liberation and for peace, national independence, freedom, and justice. This path of the era helps us to pull ourselves up without fearing any obstacle and to march straight into a bright and shining future. We march firmly and are capable of performing brilliantly our national duties these days. The path ends in prosperity and glory. It is the path being followed by the fraternal countries of the Indochinese Peninsula. It is also a path on which billions of people in the world are united and moving forward. This path is now enjoying a more favorable period than ever before in history. Looking back several decades, Laos faced a host of obstacles, much more than we are facing today. At the beginning of this century, several sons of Laos such as Pho Kadtut, Ong Keo, Ong Kommadam, Chao Ounkham, Chao Khambang and Chao Pachai led the people in their uprisings against the French colonialists, from the north to the south of the country. Their struggle caused panic among the French colonialists making it necessary for them to continually move forces in from other areas, changing their tactics many times and using the worst tricks.

In our nation's history, when our homeland was lost to France, the most notable of the French colonialists was Auguste Pavie who boasted that he "conquered our homeland by winning the hearts and minds of the people."

Today, patriotic and nationalist forces in Laos have increased millions of times, while the enemy's position has grown weaker. The liberation and development forces evolved in tune with the changes of the era which have moved and are moving in the new direction of the liberation of all nationalities and the establishment of independence, freedom and justice.

These new aims conformed with the historical development of human society and opened the way for all oppressed and backward people to push forward. However, regardless of the extent to which this historical development fit circumstances and was facilitated, it could not be projected and altered for any particular country. Glory and honor in that country's history depended on the ability to see the situation clearly, act decisively and bravely and organize the struggle to seize the people's rights to self-determination and to build the history of our nation. It is clear that our indomitable patriotism, our national solidarity and our people's determination to struggle with great courage under correct and wise revolutionary leadership were the decisive factors in our victory.

In the atmosphere of the great historic victory of our people, which was also a victory for all mankind, we must look back at the path along which we passed before in order to see clearly and scientifically that the road ahead, no matter how difficult, is full of bright hope.

Part One

The True Path of the Era: An Immutable Principle

A New Era: The Era of Mankind's Struggle for Liberation

The path on which our nation is traveling is one which the era opened up half a century ago. For several hundred years capitalist countries with advanced industries in Western Europe, such as England, France, Italy, Holland, Spain and Portugal organized overseas exploration and aggression and quickly seized control of countries with backward economies in Africa, Asia, and Latin America and spread their suppression and exploitation throughout the world. The French capitalist colonialists set up "protectorates" over far-away countries, established thousands of bonds, erased even the names of the countries, and forced people to forget their nationality. At the same time, revolutions in the French homeland demanding democratic rights for Frenchmen were bloodily suppressed. As for England, they were acknowledged as rulers of the world in one period and they boasted that, "The sun never sets on the British Empire." Not only did the capitalist imperialist interests intimidate and enslave economically backward countries but they also intimidated the relatively developed countries and expanded their influence and power until it could be said that they decided the fate of people all over the world. In the 15th and 16th centuries, after having discovered America, the capitalist interests of the western world explored and built huge fortunes in North America. Later they established the largest country in North America, namely the United States of America. Those capitalist interests concentrated on acquiring the abundant resources of North America and carried out extremely wicked and systematic oppression and exploitation of the natives who were regarded as slaves as well as of the slaves who were bought cheaply from Africa (the ancestors of the more than 20 million black Americans today who comprise 10 percent of the American population). At that time the masses were deeply immersed in the hell of slavery, suffering, and hardship

all their lives. Thus, capitalism was the stage in the development of the human race which built the foundation of mass production and attained a high level of culture and science and technology in its early period but the more capitalist society developed the more it generated within itself all kinds of serious conflicts and legal disputes which were like lots of explosions leading to its own destruction. Their oppression and savage suppression caused higher human qualities and values to disappear, caused natural resources to be wasted, and increasingly hindered severely the progress of human society.

On 7 November 1917 the revolution of the working class exploded in Russia (according to the Russian calendar it was 25 October; hence it was called the October Revolution). It was the greatest revolutionary explosion which shook the whole world to its foundations. Russian capitalism and feudalism, the weakest links of world capitalism, were destroyed. The power of the czar and the capitalist class was overthrown. Administrative power of the proletariat was established with workers, peasants, and intelligentsia ruling under the leadership of the working class. The capitalist imperialist interests of the world, led by England, the United States, Germany, and France, put a brutal cordon around the new Soviet state in hopes of strangling to death the first true, liberating revolution. But the progressive forces, although weakened a little, were able to climb back, which is a principle of life and of history. Using its own power and the strong support of the masses, the first socialist state in the world became firmly established. After that, it expanded by leaps and bounds and created the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics comprised of 15 republics united in heart and mind with equality and mutual affection on a territory lying in both Europe and Asia and comprising one-sixth of the area of the world. The Soviet Union extended its aid to Mongolia, a close neighbor. The people of Mongolia followed that same glorious path and established the world's second socialist state after the Soviet Union.

But the imperialist interests had not learned their lesson after suffering a great blow in their invasion of the world's first socialist state. Twenty-two years later when world fascism, the stepchild of imperialism, which had been born big, bad, and troublesome, launched World War II in order to redistribute world markets, they picked the first socialist country as the target for an invasion in hopes of destroying the Soviet Union, the fortress of independence and freedom. Hitler, the fascist leader, arrogantly announced to the world that his "iron" and "panzer" divisions were comprised of hundreds of units that would swallow up the Soviet Union within a few weeks. But on the contrary the world has seen that the Soviets were not swallowed by the fascists. In fact it was the three fascist ogres, Germany, Italy, and Japan, who were wiped out. The victorious socialist system helped to liberate the countries of Eastern Europe from the yoke of fascism and to become progressive, socialist peoples' democracies. Later a number of socialist countries were established in Asia, namely the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the People's Republic of China, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the Republic of Cuba was established in Latin America.

The extermination of fascism meant huge losses for the capitalist imperialists. After its demise the U.S. imperialists who had gotten fabulously rich from the war took on the role of international policeman. For this reason, in the final stages of World War II, even though the Soviet Red Army was rapidly advancing eastward wiping out the strategic reserves of the Japanese fascists in northeastern China and ending all effective Japanese resistance, the U.S. imperialists still used their atomic bombs on two Japanese cities, Hiroshima and Nagasaki. With a vengeful anger, the U.S. imperialists took advantage of their monopoly of nuclear weapons to use these weapons to intimidate the people of the world. Less than 8 years following World War II, as the people of the world were barely recovering from the tragedy brought upon them by fascist forces, the U.S. imperialists started their aggression in Korea. Obsessed with the power of nuclear weapons, President Truman declared openly that with this power "The United States with the total destructive power of nuclear weapons in its hands can change the course of history and civilization!"

However, things did not turn out as the U.S. imperialists had hoped for. Even with their superiority in military power and nuclear weapons, the U.S. aggressors could not turn back the wheels of history. Facts clearly showed that their claims of "changing the course of history" only revealed their insane and egregious intentions. Meanwhile, history progressed on course and in the direction opposite to the wishes of the U.S. imperialists. Every attempt made by the U.S. imperialists, the successors of fascism in threatening the world, to change the course of history was met with severe punishment by the people of the world. Finally, the U.S. aggressors had to agree to sign the Korean armistice agreement. One year later, the French colonialists were forced to sign the Geneva accords ending the Indochina war. However, the lessons of Korea and Vietnam were not enough to wake up the U.S. imperialists. They managed to jump into Indochina to replace the French with great enthusiasm and arrogance. The changes in Indochina in the previous 20 years were not to the liking of the U.S. imperialists. They were nevertheless forced to review their world strategy. Compared with their situation 20 years earlier, the U.S. position has progressively worsened, in its own country and in the world arena. In the relatively short time since they took over the role of the fascist powers the United States has suffered serious reversals. It has had to change its strategies for taking over the world four times through six presidents. The most obvious setback was in their assumed role as the world policeman. They were criticized every step of the way. Each time they were forced to make a backward step, their position and their power clearly diminished. Since 1917, the successful October Revolution in Russia has wiped out imperialist and capitalist power in an area one-sixth of the world. Following the defeat of the fascists at the end of World War II, the emergence of socialism in the world helped expel capitalist imperialist regimes from areas amounting to one-third of the world affecting one-third of the world's population. The U.S. imperialists' position suffered the most severe setbacks in this period. Thirty or 40 years ago who would dare imagine that the U.S. imperialists would give in to a small country with only one twenty-fifth the population of the United States. This was Cuba which gloriously

exists and points its revolutionary spear toward Latin America, the "back-yard" of the United States and long under its control. In the Middle East, the United States used Israel as its forward force to intimidate and threaten the Arab countries with the aim of exploiting these countries' oil resources at will. However, today in this region the United States is facing great difficulties because of the strong opposition from the Arab countries. Its weakening position from the Eisenhower-Dulles administration, through the Nixon administration and today, to the Ford-Kissinger administration forced the United States to adopt a "compromise" policy. From a stance of worldwide aggression as "policeman of the world" it has come down to today being the first among equals exercising "shared responsibility." Following the end of World War II, from the Truman administration through the Eisenhower-Dulles administration, the United States adopted the strategy of "brinkmanship" based on the theory of "total retaliation" using nuclear weapons to conquer the world. However, the Korean war defeat, the loss of its nuclear monopoly, the growth of socialist strength, the growth of labor and proletariat strength in capitalist countries and the United States forced the Kennedy administration to adopt the "flexible response" strategy using "limited war" tactics. By this they meant two types of conventional warfare, "regional warfare" and "special warfare," with which to oppose liberation and independence movements around the world. Meanwhile, the United States pushed ahead with its preparation for nuclear warfare.

During the Nixon administration, the U.S. imperialists declared so-called "Nixon Doctrine" having as its stratagem the domination of the world in opposition to all revolutionary forces using a show of force, especially nuclear weapons, as a shield. They sought "allied forces" in a region to "share the load" of the U.S. role as "policeman of the world." The United States thus could "negotiate from a position of strength." This strategy was completely smashed by the U.S. defeat on the battlefields of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

In Laos, the American aggressive war was a full application of the Nixon Doctrine. However, after suffering continuous and increasingly severe defeats, the United States was forced to accept the Vientiane Agreement, tantamount to an acceptance of failure in its aggressive and colonialist aims in Laos, in the face of the firm determination of the Lao people in our struggle for independence, liberty and national reconciliation. In South Vietnam, when it was defeated even after using the most terrible weapons such as the B-52 heavy bombers, the United States signed the Paris Agreements on Vietnam, rolled up its "stars and stripes" and withdrew its more than one-half million military forces from Vietnam. However, this setback did not deter the U.S. imperialists from making further aggressive schemes. They continued with their neocolonialist aims with a new strategy under the guise of warfare among the Vietnamese people. It was these dark schemes of aggression that pushed the U.S. imperialists to a complete and shameful defeat for all the world to see. At the same time, the Nixon Doctrine did not fare any better in Cambodia. There, the U.S. imperialists were steadily heading toward the day when the U.S. war chieftains had to take their lackeys and their families with them in precipitant withdrawal.

As the U.S. imperialists were writhing in agony in Indochina, their allies, beneficiaries of the American Marshall Plan and long-time lackeys of the United States, disregarded the American appeal for "shared responsibilities." They also took advantage of the deteriorating position of America in order to snatch markets and exploitive industries from U.S. control as the United States had done in the past. The United States went ahead with the Nixon Doctrine in its aggression in Indochina by using the "negotiation" card, but not from a position of strength as envisaged by American planners. The Americans had to carry on the negotiations from a position of defeat in order to salvage whatever they could possibly save. The world had clearly changed greatly since the days when the U.S. imperialists threatened other countries at will in the manner of "the elephant stepping on the bird." Had the United States not been thoroughly and soundly defeated in Vietnam and Laos, it would never have accepted the Vientiane Agreement on Laos, and would never have signed the Paris Accords on Vietnam. Cambodia was another good example of the stubbornness of the U.S. imperialists. As an example of their stubbornness, in the face of the courageous struggle of the Khmer people for their national liberation, the Americans still propped up the Lon Nol clique hoping that these traitors would be able to put up a big show for "negotiation" with the National United Front of Cambodia and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia. But the revolutionary forces knew full well that the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys were in a hopeless situation, therefore they rejected all overtures for negotiation and they pushed ahead with their struggle to the point of dealing unconditional defeat on the enemy.

In the Middle East, the "embargo" stratagem was devised by the United States decades before to contain socialist countries, to restrict their economies and to plot political overthrows. Now, however, these "weak" countries, branded as "savage" by the United States, are using this same weapon against the United States, dealing a severe and protracted blow to its influence and financial power in this region. The brave Syrian people used artillery, rockets, tanks and jets and the force of the consciousness of national independence forces to challenge the U.S. "negotiation" stratagem. Today, as United States imperialism is suffering a terrible crisis of decline, the unelected Ford-Kissinger administration still blindly follow the Nixon Doctrine for the control of the world--without Nixon. On this road, they got themselves even more entangled and suffered still further defeats. The imperialist United States and other capitalist states are being pushed to the brink of disaster with crises breaking out all over the capitalist world. Meanwhile, revolutionary forces in the world are pushing ahead on the glorious and victorious road marked by history.

Only a little more than half of a century has passed since the October Revolution in Russia, the world has changed so vastly that the course of history has undergone a qualitative change never witnessed before. The world had gone through several changes in social systems. But the October Revolution in Russia opened up a new era--the era of struggle for the liberation of all mankind. This is a fact. Compared with the several million years of human history, it is only in the last 50 years or so that more

than one billion people have been completely liberated. One thing that we should point out is that since the October Revolution, national revolutionary movements have emerged in successive waves, building up their forces to the strength of a storm. This great storm of revolutionary forces shook the oppressive social system of the world to its foundation, a social system heretofore believed to be permanent because of its longevity but characterized by monopoly, oppression, exploitation, warmongering and a yoke on the back of all mankind. All this was changed by the explosion of the October Revolution in Russia. The revolution demonstrated that the course of history has changed in direction as well as in its characteristics. With the revolution, the era of liberation had begun with a giant step forward.

When the world was still under the grip of the imperialists, mankind could only dream about independence and freedom. Poverty was explained away as misfortunes in life. Injustice was blamed on fate. People were told to be content with their destiny. Today, on the other hand, things are different. Peace, independence, freedom and happiness are real. They are real to a nation as well as to the everyday life of its people. The history of a nation must be built by its own people. The struggle for liberation and to be master of one's own destiny has become part of mankind's thinking and consciousness. This struggle has become the movement of mankind and thus, naturally, it will decide the course of history.

A Concentrated Force Which Nothing Can Divide

At the present time, mankind has sufficient strength for the struggle to liberate itself and to develop national independence. This is a concentrated force which nothing can divide, which has expanded everywhere and which has compressed the imperialist capitalist system by its expansion.

The present total world population is about 3.8 billion people, of which more than 1.2 billion are united under the socialist system; more than 2 billion people in about a hundred countries have not yet reached socialism but do not belong to the imperialist capitalist system. Within this group, there are some countries which are still carrying on the struggle for their own liberation. The majority of them have achieved liberation, have established a regime of national independence and are concentrating on strengthening themselves. This tremendous and ever-growing strength is clearly related to the socialist system, and there are many points in which they are not in harmony with the imperialist capitalist forces, many instances and areas where they are in direct opposition. Many hundreds of millions of the people are still under the imperialist capitalist system, the majority of whom are workers, farmers, laborers and intellectuals. These have united into a massive revolutionary force. Their struggle within the home base of capitalism itself, together with the efforts of the socialists, of all national liberation forces has appeared in the form of three gigantic waves of revolution, which grow from day to day in ever-increasing tremendous force, in guerrilla resistance, and which clearly will move onto the stage where they will overthrow the doctrine of capitalism and imperialism, which is the final danger to mankind.

The cycle of history is unlikely to turn back on itself. Beginning with the very origin of its birth, mankind has passed through many regimes; new systems evolved which progressed further and changed the preceding system which had become outmoded. The great Lenin wrote in one of his books at the beginning of the century, and confirmed scientifically and unarguably that "the doctrine of imperialism will supersede and destroy the doctrine of capitalism." At the time when capitalism superseded feudalism, which had become outmoded, the capitalist system pushed forward the progress of mankind; more and more property, materiel and goods were produced, and with these, civilization was brought to mankind. However, the capitalist system, in the same manner as the feudalist system which it had replaced, carried within itself its own inherent contradictions which could not be resolved. This, because it is a system in which man exploited man, in which a small minority exploited the great majority; this majority was made up of laborers and those who were producing the materiel and the goods for society in ever-increasing quantities. The assets produced under this system did not belong to the laborer, who formed the great majority, and who provided the foundation for production of this magnitude, but this very great number of producers again and again fell under the control of the few exploiters. This contradiction (as a point of conflict between labor, becoming an ever larger characteristic of this widespread society, that is, the workers, and the seizure of goods that they produced and its conversion to the ownership of private individuals, a small number of capitalists) lies in the restraint against the self-development of the people. For this reason, change is necessary because this is not proper to the level of development of society; clearly it must be replaced by a new socialist system. This new system will have the capability to organize; it will be able to encourage and mobilize the strength and intelligence of every individual and enable entrance into large-scale production. The various goods produced must then be shared among the consumers. This consumption continues to increase in each stage, up until the time when society has the ability to produce the various goods and materials needed to enable it to respond to each individual's needs. The decisive comparison between the socialist system and the capitalist system lies in the means of production by socialism; it is the joint property of the society and not the property of any individual. When the means of production has become joint property, then clearly the system of man oppressing man is ended. Production by society is completely organized and planned. Organized and planned production will develop continuously and will constantly evolve for the better on a foundation of increasingly higher technique. The system of allotment and distribution is implemented according to principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need." The very great value of the new socialist system has been demonstrated in its strength; no one has been able to achieve victory over the socialist countries, of which the first in the world is the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union not only was victorious over the fascist system of Germany and Japan in World War II, but it was still able to provide widespread assistance to other socialist regimes in becoming the world's primary system, and in national liberation of which it has become a special symbol of a new era.

The power of the forces of national liberation and independence lies first of all in the power of the mind, the power of the will; cherishing independence and freedom, it is the power which grows from the perseverance of the great majority of the people. This is the source, condition of struggle movements for national liberation and independence. When national consciousness links the people of all nations together, when they have the will for independence, then they are nations which have everything: the power of solidarity in struggle to lead the revolution toward progress and to build the capability to solve difficult problems of all types. Regardless of the magnitude of these difficulties, solidarity will build the capability of achieving victory over any foe. When two boxers meet in a boxing ring, it is normal that the winner will be the stronger of the two, the one with the more daring punches and is not likely to be the one who wants victory but is weak and less skilled. On the contrary, however, when any people rise up together in struggle, and continue struggling in an era which provides new basic conditions favoring the nation regardless of how few in number they are, if they are determined to rise up and seize independence, then this determination will be the force for total victory. This is because these people have united and formed a courageous and brave unit with correct thought and clearsighted intelligence, know how to augment and use their inherent strength to its utmost. These strengths consist of deep decisiveness and the intelligence of all the people, not the goods or materiel which the enemy seized from the people, but which now are changed to weapons to strike at the enemy's head. The entire world and new era work together on the side of those who are the true leaders. When the situation is like this, it is clear that the mental strengths of the people will evolve into material force for victory. The fact is that it is actually like this, historical truth, which is appearing in this era. Our group consists of those countries which have been liberated and attained national independence, countries which capitalists and imperialists had previously exploited to enrich themselves and maintain a rich life style, living off the labors of others. Today, these countries have caused deepening difficult crises in all aspects of capitalism and imperialism. They will certainly be one of the strengths, and crucial battle line in eliminating the final danger to mankind--that is, the imperialist system must disappear.

At the present time, if in any country whatsoever there is a movement for liberation and national independence, there is still a desire to stop, to hesitate, to vacillate, or to be uncertain, a desire to turn back to another time. There is a resemblance to the short-lived stormy weather which rages in the middle of the dry season and passes into the sunny weather of the struggle. Regardless of how fiercely the influential forces of reaction will storm eventually the sun of justice and knowledge of the truth will shine clearly once again.

The capitalists and imperialists have been able to exist, to develop their abundant riches. to maintain their dominance and to expand, based upon the exploitation of labor within their own country and the exploitation of labor in their colonies or dependencies. In the very ghetto of the United

States one source of the wealth and the temporary expansion of capitalism in North America was from natural resources and from labor. Later on, they drew on the intellectual resources of their colonies and dependencies. The great difficulty which has become critical throughout the imperialist world is the oil and fuel crisis which the U.S. imperialists and all other capitalist-imperialist countries have recently met head on with great distress and difficulty and it is still a serious problem. But the force which will cause capitalism to go bankrupt is in the ghetto of its own regime, a force which has drastically increased, i.e., the working class. As Karl Marx and Engels observed so ably more than a century ago: "The capitalist class digs its own grave." Lenin wrote, "The imperialist era is the period in which capitalism will reach the stage of exhaustion and decay; it will have reached its limit and will be stretched out at the mouth of its grave."

As of today, capitalism has been shaken to its roots thanks to the struggle of the workers and the laborers in the very ghettos of all those countries. Because capitalism is increasingly exploiting the workers and the laborers in order to grab as much profit as possible, the workers and the laborers have to resort increasingly to struggle to seize their right to life. This can be clearly seen from statistics: after World War II, that is, between 1956 and 1960, the number of people who went on strike in the capitalist world was 150 million; from 1960 to 1972 the number nearly quadrupled (more than 550 million people). After they were heavily defeated and lost their advantage in their war of aggression in Vietnam and Laos, and after they had to sign the Paris Treaty and the Vientiane Agreements, the U.S. capitalists were seriously attacked in the very ghetto of the United States by the greatest wave of struggles of workers and laborers all over the United States that had occurred in the nearly 200-year history of the United States of America. It was truly a heavy blow to the rich people and the powerful organizations of the United States. The outstanding feature of the struggle movement of U.S. workers and laborers is that it is the same as those of workers and laborers of other capitalist, imperialist countries of the world. All these movements are becoming more closely intertwined with the struggle to liberate their countries and to protect the independence in all countries in the world.

The violent and continuing storm of the various struggle movements formed by workers and laborers in the capitalist countries has now definitely confirmed that all the peoples of the world have a high degree of awareness of nation and class, together with their proven capability to organize the production of goods and materials of all kinds for society. However, the laborers still receive the bare minimum; coming more and more to an impasse, they increasingly question the system. This truth refutes the lies of "people's capitalism" and the vague theory described as "white-collar workers," meaning that officials and other hired intellectuals will become capitalists! Their slavish capitalist system is exploitation; those who exploit are the minority, which is becoming ever smaller in number, while those who are being exploited are the majority, which is becoming ever greater. The tempo of the insane competition for profit is increasing without any regard for morality; as in the slogan of the robber barons, "the end justifies the

means." This means that the search for profits comes before all else. Regardless of how evil and dirty the means of obtaining money and wealth, a system that looks only to money and profit like this, that tramples on morality like this, no matter what it does it can think only of dividing up the real wealth and happiness for this country or that. A system which thinks only of itself like this will do anything to think up "providing assistance to friendly countries" in order for these small countries to develop. It is unquestionable that these concepts and actions are not likely possible. With their astuteness, Karl Marx and Engels made a very clear division between menial labor and those who labor with their minds, all of whom serve the capitalists. The slogan "Proletariat of the world, unite" which both men raised high more than a century ago is becoming more and more true, and the labor force of the era is shining ever brighter. At the beginning of this century, Lenin expanded Karl Marx' and Engels' slogan, and called on "all oppressed nations and proletariat of the world to unite." That is the slogan of struggle which is welling up with life, and is the symbol for the united labor force of the era; it opens the way and induces people everywhere in the world to join the vanguard of the struggle against imperialist America, the infiltrator and aggressor, which practices neocolonialism under the banner of the "Nixon Doctrine," which is a "doctrine" of brutal, savage and obdurate aggression, which the Ford-Kissinger administration continues to follow.

Today, when the world isn't boiling over with the three waves of revolutionary struggle there are the peace movements which have attracted a billion people in various countries, to drive out all those countries headed by capitalist chieftains waging war and intervention in other countries.

The U.S. imperialists, who are deceitful, greedy, and bloodthirsty, tremble with fear in the face of revolutionary and progressive forces in the world which are attacking them constantly, and in the face of the solid coordination between the revolutionary and progressive forces throughout the world. From their screaming and bellowing about war and aggression, they have reached the point of talking of "forgiveness" and "cooperation" without let-up. They portray themselves as always having a role in carrying the banner of peace and began to make appeals for the doctrine of building of "health and wealth" and "the future of mankind." Their intent is to use lies and deceitfulness to conceal their true and continuing thoughts of war and aggression which are an unchanging inherent characteristic. And their "forgiveness" involves "forgiving" the United States in its weak and sick state. This "forgiving" is only a trick aimed at putting the revolutionary and progressive forces off guard and getting these forces to quit fighting. It is a trick to stop military actions so that they can gain time to rebuild their forces and concoct new schemes to attack the revolutionary and progressive forces. Events in Chile (Latin America) and Cyprus (southern Europe) have made it quite clear just what the U.S. demons are up to and what lies beneath the mask of this deceitful "forgiveness." These events show that the U.S. imperialists would use devious trickery or armed force as they see fit to achieve their own evil and vile ends. For the personal gain of U.S. imperialists in Latin America, the United States laid plans to

overthrow the progressive government of Chile headed by President Allende. It was also the United States who caused the bloodshed of the people of Cyprus as a way of responding to their long-held designs to make this strategic island a base from which to wage war and aggression in the Middle East and the Near East at a time when the revolutionary current of the peoples in these regions was reaching a high level and appeared to be going counter to the policies of the United States aimed at appropriating raw materials and fuel, which are abundant in the Middle East and Near East. This revolutionary current was combined with armed struggle against the Israelis, the surrogate forces of the United States. "Peace" as the United States means it is to have others remain under the yoke that the United States places around their neck. As for what they mean by "cooperation" and "wealth and health," both are used to conceal neocolonialism. There is no way in which imperialism is going to tolerate revolution and progress. The truth is that they have not reduced in the least their attacks on revolution and progress. For that reason, revolutionary attacks of every form represent the correct and appropriate direction and methods for revolution. The collective strength of revolution derives from being on the offensive. On the road of revolution each nation has a clear consciousness of its fate; it has a clear-sighted vision in making the decision to embark upon its path in accordance with the principle of struggle and of contributing its strength to the three waves of revolution. The path of the era which involves combining the strengths of the revolutionary and progressive forces is a glorious path, even though it is filled with hardship and difficulties, the ups and downs of struggle, the overcoming of adversity to attack and destroy the enemy who is a most vicious, evil, and obstinate adversary. The strength and continuing attacks of the masses in the revolutionary waves and the peace movements which release pent-up strength together form a supremely victorious strength which nothing can stop.

A Principle Which Cannot Be Reversed

The times helped our people and the peoples of Indochina defeat the United States. The victorious resistance of the Indochinese peoples has also played a role in the progress of the era. The fact that this era advanced to total victory in Indochina at this particular time is not at all accidental. Indochina is comprised of three nations--Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia--and they represent one of the centers in which epochal changes for the world have been taking place since antiquity. The reason for this is that this region has been a crossroads of civilized thinking and of political concepts from every corner of the world. It is likewise no accident that Indochina was the birthplace of the movement of the masses who were oppressed and rose up to fight in the August Revolution of 1945 at a time when the colonialists and the imperialists were on all four sides. After that the Indochinese rose up against the war of aggression of the French colonialists for 9 years until victory was reached. Thus, 10 years after World War II Indochina conquered the old form of colonialism which used troops brought in from outside in the hope of extinguishing the courageous national revolutionary movement, which although it was majestic and courageous, was still in its infancy.

At that instant the new brand of colonialism of the United States leaped in to take the place of the old form of colonialism of the French. This neo-colonialism of the United States represented the basic policy of the United States (which took it upon itself to be the international policeman), to substitute for the form of colonialism which was crumbling, to suppress the national liberation and independence tide, to block progress toward socialism, and to bully the former colonies into remaining in their old subjugated status. For the nearly 20 years that followed, the neocolonialism of the United States, which reached its peak as the "Nixon Doctrine," was brutal and savage. It cleverly incorporated what they had gathered from the successes and defeats of every "doctrine" of the previous colonial countries. They experimented with all of these things in Indochina but still they were quietly vanquished. Nevertheless, even though it was dealt the severest of blows, the United States persisted with its neocolonialism and drifted toward a test of strength in Indochina and elsewhere. History will clearly assess the defeat of this vile doctrine of the United States, and it will assess the nature of its first blows (which it received from the peoples of Indochina). These were violent blows, and they could represent death blows for them.

This victory of the peoples of the three nations of Indochina was a great event and its reverberations are being felt around the world at the present time. This event developed according to theory. It represents only one cluster in a forest of great changes and events which are mutually related and mandatory in accordance with the relationship between cause and effect. To gain a clear comprehension of the nature of this principle, let us take another look at the history of the causes of war and aggression waged by the capitalists, colonialists, and imperialists and the continuous series of defeats which they have suffered since the beginning of this century. That at which we should take a closer look is the attack by 14 imperialist countries against Russia when the first socialist revolution in the world was being carried out. This event has special historical significance because it was a total victory for socialism in spite of the fact that at that time it was just getting on its feet. The complete victory of the socialist revolution in the Soviet Union marked a new step for mankind. It is the most important episode in the history of our era.

The second great historical episode during our era occurred also in the first socialist nation of the world. This was the great patriotic war fought by the people of the Soviet Union when these brave people joined with the rest of mankind to defeat world fascism and from then on to liberate the countries of eastern Europe. After that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China came into being in Asia. So a new social system came into the world, that is, socialism. This was the great change in our era which moved the world from a situation wherein it was entirely controlled by the imperialist system and produced a new world in which there were two systems that opposed each other while existing side by side. The result of the Chinese revolution tilted the balance of world forces, that is, forces of peace and revolution on the one hand and the reactionary forces on the other, toward those of socialism,

liberation, independence and peace. It must again be stressed that the success of the revolution in China, which is a large country with a population greater than any country in the world, following World War II helped the peoples of Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia in their resistance against the war of aggression waged by the French colonialists, their first such resistance, and raised wonderful hopes for the revolutions of liberation of the Southeast Asian peoples.

The third great historical episode in our era is the success of revolution in the Indochinese countries. The main pillar and force of decisive significance behind this revolution was the Vietnamese revolution. This event opened a period of new struggle which decided the fate of the old form of colonialism. After that the severest of blows were dealt neocolonialism of the United States, causing grave losses to that country. At the same time the way was opened for the task of liberation in the weak countries and the movement for liberation and national independence in the world expanded tremendously and gained the strength of a real typhoon. This historical event is one of extremely great significance for nations, particularly those nations which have been exploited and oppressed, have backward economies, and have been reduced to colonial status, semicolonial status, or dependencies of world colonialism and imperialism for so long and which have now risen up or are rising up to struggle for their own liberation.

From what we have seen in our review of events in the above section, the most outstanding feature of our present era is the appearance and unceasing expansion of the three revolutionary currents which have combined into a single great cascade, the tip of which is concentrated in attacking world capitalism and imperialism continuously. These three currents have been decisive in determining the path of our era. The distinctive nature and strength of these three currents is that they represent a position of attack with superb coordination and mutual effect which constantly raises the quality of the collective tasks of the peoples of the world.

In the face of this terrible calamity, that is the crumbling of the colonialist system; world imperialism with the United States imperialists in the lead had to devise a new world strategy, so in the middle of the 20th century the imperialists of the United States decided to use their vastly superior forces to suppress and control the peoples of Indochina while carrying on intervention and aggression for 20 or more years. That was a great historical event and it is a significant historical lesson for the evil superpowers who were pillaging and oppressing the country. Once they had gotten themselves into this great disaster in this way, the American imperialists found themselves into believing that through the use of such power as the imperialists had never used before they could reverse the course of history and stop the expansion of the national liberation movement which since the great Russian October Revolution had associated itself with the waves of socialism, democracy and peace in the world. However, in the face of the opposition of the new forces of the world, the U.S. imperialists increasingly found themselves unable to carry out their desires. And in fact this was the case. Once they had fallen into the quicksand of

special warfare and regional warfare in Indochina, the U.S. imperialists found themselves attacked by their enemies on many sides. To the front they had to engage in a head to head fight against the strength of the peoples of Indochina. From the rear they found themselves increasingly incapacitated in the face of the exploding socialist revolution, which for the first time occurred in Latin America, their own backyard, in the form of the Cuban revolution waged by the brave Cuban people. And during the final episode of the vile aggression of the U.S. imperialists in Indochina, when they were faced with the liberation revolution of the people of eastern Pakistan who had established the new state of Bangladesh, the United States hastily sent warships of their 7th Fleet into the Indian Ocean but they were unable to do anything. Another important event was the "October 1973 War" waged by the people of the Middle East, who combined the use of the oil weapon in their simultaneous attack on the Israeli aggressors serving as cannon fodder for forces of the U.S. imperialists in that area. At the same time the economic blow of the "oil embargo" came crashing down upon the U.S. imperialists and their gang. In the past the imperialists had resorted to what they called "the heavy artillery policy" but this time they thrashed about and made threats but no one was afraid of them. The times had changed in accordance with the rules of history, and that is a most significant fact. The present decline and retreat of the U.S. imperialists, while amply clear from the military viewpoint, is even more apparent politically. We should recall that after World War II the U.S. imperialists, who had a monopoly on atomic weapons and vast economic wealth far and above that of every other capitalist and imperialist country, took it upon themselves to be the policeman of the world, threatening the world with its strategy of "massive retaliation." Now this huge imperialist country is finding itself humiliated by small countries in a way that the people of the world would not have dreamed possible in the past.

The decline of the imperialist United States is primarily a matter of political decline deriving from that country's own politics. As is known, the United States of America, which was established 200 years ago, experienced a great birth and expansion accompanied by the great sins of the white-skinned capitalists who sought to annihilate the "red-skinned" natives and to plunder the natives' land and property for their own use, through the exploitation of the black-skinned people that they bought in Africa the way one would buy animals and brought over to be used in large-scale agriculture and industrial expansion, and through the exploitation of the workers and laborers of every nationality and race which involved millions of people. This massive movement also involved a war between the capitalists of the northern and southern parts of the country and wars with other countries, such as with Mexico, to seize territory and raw materials, and with Spain to seize colonies and gain vast markets and trade.

From that it can be seen that American society, which is a capitalist society, grew at a tremendous pace based upon the special wealth of the country, the lessons in enterprise learned by the European capitalists, the exploitation of labor, and the large-scale application of science and technology. Social administrative authority was in the hands of the capitalist

class, in general, and of the rich, in particular. They have claimed to the world the falsehood of "the great democracy of America." In fact it is a place ruled by the dollar and by the rich. The country's entire system, including its legislature, administration, and courts, is in the control of the rich, from the highest to the lowest levels. The elections are generally of only a superficial nature. In reality they buy the votes of the electorate with dollars. Each new election is but a competition among the various wealthy groups using two political parties, the Democratic Party and the Republican Party, as fronts. The same is true with the country's economic structure. The U.S. capitalist system has reached the highest level of monopoly, monopolistic capitalism. In politics the governing power of the capitalists also reaches the high level of state monopoly. The wealthy class uses this state monopolistic power to preserve their own monopolistic rights in economic exploitation and political pressure. The various groups of wealthy monopolists use every available trick to buy, defraud, intimidate, murder, and conduct other evil acts of the most extreme nature in order to gain administrative rights and use exploitation in their quest for wealth. Not long ago the Watergate affair occurred and gave the United States a vile reputation around the world. The stench of the Watergate affair revealed the true face of the monopolistic capitalist class, those holding power in the United States. The group of monopolists on the opposing side took advantage of this affair to attack and overthrow President Nixon. In fact, this affair simply points out that the U.S. social system has reached the grave level of great crisis. The real reason for this crisis reaching this grave stage is the Indochina war, or the stubbornness of those holding power in the United States in pouring untold amounts of money and arms into their Indochinese aggression. This resulted in serious, continuing defeats and a fall into an inescapable quagmire for nearly 20 years. This insane obstinacy took the United States down into a deep abyss of economic decline, political turmoil, social discord, fear and loss of confidence, and loss of a monopoly position in the domination of the capitalist world. The American people expressed their weariness and their loss of hope for the state system of the United States through the political position they took during the election of 5 November 1974; 62 percent, or about 95 million of the 145 million persons who were of voting age, did not vote.

The second thing which is clear is the economic decline of the imperialist United States. On 20 April 1974 two powerful members of the U.S. Senate, Edward Kennedy and Walter Mondale, made speeches alerting the American people to the low output of U.S. production. They clearly pointed out that: "The decline (of the U.S. economy) is continuing." And they observed that: "This decline could endanger jobs, corporate income, and the well being of all 200 million Americans." Ten months previously, the most powerful U.S. bank, the First National City Bank, observed that: "the financial policies of the United States could bring on a financial crisis as bad as the depression of 1929-1933."

We should recall that the United States during its period of longest prosperity reported that it had gold bars stored as a guarantee and that the dollar could be exchanged for its value in gold at any time. However, with

the advent of the crisis of economic decline in the United States the dollar has been continuously dropping in value. In August 1971 after the dollar had been the top currency in the capitalist world for decades, the Nixon government, which always boasted of a "new economic policy," was forced to devalue the dollar and take it from its world throne by announcing the cancellation of the agreement to exchange dollars for gold. The economic conditions of the United States has made it increasingly clear that the decline of the United States has reached the level described in the writings of the noted American economist [Victor Perler] who said that unemployment and hardship in daily life have reached epochal levels, affecting 51 million of the 200 million people of the United States. According to the admissions of the Department of Labor and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare of the United States, at the present time there are nearly 7 million persons in the United States who have to live in "pigpens" and nearly 4 million persons have to be treated for nervous disorders. However, the origin of the decline of the U.S. economic base lies in the very structure of the U.S. economy. The United States has wealth but the wealthy have always been able to take this wealth to use for their debts. These debts have continued to increase which means that the economic decline will go on and will increase in severity. According to U.S. data, their debt was \$605 billion in 1954. By 1964 this debt had increased to \$1,151 billion and by 1974 it was \$2,792 billion. This was a twofold increase over the previous 10-year figure and a fourfold increase over the previous 20-year figure. At the same time the debts of companies (over the 20-year period) rose sevenfold. The debts of consumers in general increased sixfold and the debts of administrative authorities from central to local level increased from twofold to sixfold. The danger resulting from this indebtedness is that many persons will not be able to find the money to repay their debts or to use for future enterprises. Generally speaking, the American people have to use 25 percent of their income to repay debts.

The U.S. government owes debts to private persons amounting to \$650 billion, a 12-fold increase over the 1940 figure, but expenditures of the United States in the next 30 months will exceed the budget by as much as \$1 billion. This means that there will be a greater budget deficit than at any time previously. However, the way they will compensate for this budget deficit will be to take the necessary funds from the pockets of the American people, who for the most part are over their heads in debt already. At the present time the U.S. imperialists have run into severe economic and financial problems, as the famed financial economist Burns, director of the U.S. Treasury, told a joint committee of the U.S. Congress at the beginning of this year. He said that the United States is faced with six economic and financial problems which it is not able to resolve: 1) The debts of U.S. capitalist companies are piling up into a mountain; 2) The companies do not have capital for carrying out new expansion because their income has been steadily decreasing (some companies are alleged to have had increases but in fact these are only reflections of increased prices brought on by inflation); 3) Inflation and the danger of inflation are factors in the present decline in the U.S. economy and inflation is continuing to increase at a pace of an emergency nature; 4) The figures for labor productivity are

falling; 5) Taxes are increasing at a disastrous rate: 25 years ago a worker paid no more than 1/100 of his income in taxes, whereas in 1974 that worker had to pay as much as 13 percent of his income to taxes; 6) The dollar is rapidly losing its value.

The decline of the U.S. political system and its economy and finances has caused a corresponding decline in the U.S. society and in the spirit of the American people. It is not necessary to cite much evidence of this because the United States already has a strong reputation for the deteriorated and rotten society. The turmoil is moving, and will continue to move, toward the final climax. To give an example, at the present time every week in the United States there are young people numbering in the tens of thousands who are leaving home, and among the women of the United States their struggle slogan, and it can almost be said to be reality, is abortion on demand and without cost. In U.S. society where the dollar reigns supreme the struggle for life follows the rules of the jungle. The big fish eat the little fish. There are ethnic divisions, robbery, killing, and violation of individual freedom, an outstanding example of which was the wicked Watergate affair which revealed all too clearly this "life style" which is immoral, dishonest, and deceitful, characteristics which are common to those holding power in general, even the president of the United States himself.

A third clear example of the decline of the U.S. imperialist nation is the vile manner in which it has behaved toward those countries friendly to it and subordinate to it. The decline of the dollar and the financial and economic base of the United States has not only adversely affected that country, but it has also dangerously affected the allies and colonies of the United States. An example is that the U.S. dollar's inflationary loss of value is a danger to the "growth" of U.S. allies and colonies. It is for this reason that we see what is happening in West Germany, France, and Japan where many people are getting rid of the dollar or avoiding the dollar like people avoiding those with contagious diseases. That is one of the sources of friction which will create discord between the United States and its allies in western Europe and Japan, where these countries compete among themselves over markets, trade, raw materials, and investments. Beyond that, Western experts have even gone so far as to say that "the most dangerous threat to the power of the United States in the world from now on will come from Japan or from western Europe, or from both Japan and western Europe together."

It was not long ago, on 6 August 1971, when Nixon, the U.S. President, publicly admitted that America had lost, without any doubt, power and influence in western Europe and Japan.

So it is easy to see that the largest of the capitalist and imperialist countries is going steadily downhill. When one considers various comparative data, it can be seen that in a quarter of a century the peak industrial output of the United States, in comparison to that of the western European countries, has changed from where U.S. output once greatly exceeded that of the European countries to where it is now only about equal

to theirs. As for exports, in 1973 the exports of the United States were only 14 percent of the entire capitalist world's exports while the exports of western Europe reached 51 percent. West Germany alone had exports nearly equal to those of the United States. In finances, the cash and gold reserves of the United States fell from 70 percent of those of the capitalist world (\$24.6 billion in 1949); now the value of West Germany's gold reserves alone is \$30 billion (78 billion marks) while the gold reserve of the United States is only \$11.6 billion. One thing which is of special significance is that now the United States is required to buy technology from western Europe and Japan.

Indeed, the truth of the conspiracy and, at the same time, the conflict between the U.S. imperialists and other imperialists at present lies in the fact that while U.S. power and prestige have been greatly diminished, especially following the long demise the United States has suffered as a result of successive defeats in the Indochina war, U.S. imperialists still stubbornly long to be ruler of the world. The main thrust of the "Nixon Doctrine" was that the capitalist countries have to "share responsibility" with the United States, and it has become ever clearer that the U.S. scheme is to compel these other countries to work more closely with it so the United States can proceed with its actions and strategy to take over the world. The relationship between the United States and the other capitalist countries is only a U.S. trick to weaken and pull them down, not to assist them in any way. Because of this policy, the United States has been caught in a painful trap by these countries' efforts to hold their own against the United States and to protect themselves.

At the same time there was no imperialist capitalist country capable of escaping from the cycle of increasingly severe crises. Examples are Italy with its constantly changing governments, France with its ongoing social upheavals, and the feverish interventions of Japan and West Germany. Although these countries have done all they can to resolve these problems, they have been unable to escape political crises and economic perils. Even in the stubbornness of the Portuguese imperialists to maintain the status quo they were unable to escape the deterioration or the adverse effects of the loss of worldwide influence of the U.S. imperialist chieftains. Crisis is a basic element of the capitalist system, like blood in one's body. Capitalism has involved cyclical crises since its origin and this will be the case until capitalism disappears. With each period of capitalism there follows a decline. Then comes a period of recovery and new expansion which leads to yet another crisis. But this does not mean that each cycle is the same as the preceding ones. Each cyclical crisis is more severe, harder to overcome, and brings more disorder until the point of full-scale crisis is reached and capitalism in its cancerous state gives way to a new social system, i.e., socialism, in accordance with the laws governing the growth of human society. The factors underlying the present full-scale crisis in which capitalism finds itself, according to wealthy circles, are worse than the great crisis of 1929-1933. And there are elements which are different and more dangerous. In past such crises world capitalism was able to make temporary corrections by spending inflated money to limit unemployment and

to expand capital. But in the present crisis, as most of western Europe knows so frightfully well, things are more complex and difficult in that "if the inflated funds are not spent, there will be a worldwide decline, but by trying to avoid this decline, they will cause the prices of goods to increase dramatically."

The crisis of capitalism this time will be a full-scale one. It will involve problems of labor productivity, raw materials, fuel, and money on such a worldwide scale that capitalists will not be able to solve them. It will mark the end of a "prosperous era" for imperialist capitalism in which it has been able to accumulate wealth by seizing natural resources, raw materials, and fuel sources of the underdeveloped countries to appropriate and exploit them at will. Now things have changed from what they used to be. Whereas in the past the rulers of the capitalist countries could at their whim increase production on the basis of resources and fuels of other countries, now those countries which own those raw materials and fuels, which are a life and death matter for large economies, have their own plans, policies, and increasingly effective means for controlling their resources. Thus, from now on the right to set prices and the right to sell to whomever they desire will lie with the true owner. From now on it will not be up to the old and new colonial rulers to decide as in the past because of the astounding growth of the revolutionary forces of national liberation and national independence, and of the three revolutionary currents of this century, which have repulsed and also multiplied the severity of the full-scale crisis now being faced by world capitalism. This has awakened the Third World and this strong awakening has forced a new division of labor in the world. It has eradicated the basis of racial separation and the division between rich and poor countries in international trade. It has firmly and correctly fixed the system of commercial relationships and exchange on the basis of equality and advantage for all parties. The Third World countries will operate on the basis of being the rightful owners of their resources with fixed prices. Their struggle has two meanings. One has to do with their awakening, a healthy development for the peoples of countries which were slaves in the past. And on the opposite side of this coin is the decline and downfall of bloodthirsty and greedy imperialism. No one will get excited when they hear the cries of high ranking officials of the U.S. administration who complain that: "A total embargo on the export of petroleum by the petroleum-selling countries would be as much danger to the United States as a nuclear war!" (Statement by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Enders on 14 February 1975 during a report to a subcommittee of the U.S. Senate's Committee on Foreign Affairs.)

It must also be said that the constant astounding inventions of science and technology during the 20th century have helped to give world capitalists the means for their deceitful propaganda that they could bring unlimited advances to the "health and wealth" of their countries. However, it is clear that if you say that the great science and technology of this century have helped the capitalists build health at some points science and technology have also helped them build their own fortunes and exploit the

peoples of various countries. At the same time, science and technology in this era have also bolstered the drive toward the inevitable annihilation of the capitalists. Furthermore, there is no "sacred object" of any kind that the capitalists might have which could reverse this course of history; things which are outdated must give way to those things which promote progress and development just as the young generation takes over from the elders, and the sprout shoots up to replace the old plant that is about to die.

During our time, for several decades we have known and have heard and seen with our own ears and eyes the birth, growth, and demise of an imperialist country stronger than any others. It is certain that this era will see the climax of the full-scale crisis for capitalism. This crisis will bring capitalism tumbling down in a rapid collapse.

From the victory of the Indochinese peoples in which they conquered two colonial imperialist countries, there is special significance in the defeat of the U.S. imperialists, the aggressors and successors. The historical events of this era brought an end to an era. The course of history since the beginning of the 20th century has given us good grounds for forecasting that in the not too distant future, perhaps even within our generation, mankind will take fast steps forward in improving the quality of life. The world in which we live will progress in the direction required by the course of history; there can be no other way. This means that the task of liberating mankind must be totally victorious over those forces of war and aggression. The forces of right and justice must win over those of immorality and undemocratic ways. Socialism, which is the social system that will replace the outdated capitalist system, will surge ahead on a wave of lasting prosperity.

Part Two

Historical Periods of Noble Majesty and Things Which Have Been Confirmed in Actual Practice Through Struggle; Nature of the Origin of the Struggle and Its Unrelenting Character

These days each of us has a countless number of things passed down by our ancestors for which we are grateful, namely the initiative to rise up and press ahead unrelentingly on the glorious path of the era.

The history of the Lao people goes back to ancient times. For untold generations our people have pitted their strength against nature to build their homes, fields, and gardens. Through their labors they built a close, tightly knit relationship among the various tribes and races in every region. This led to the emergence of many regional districts [merging] under the rule of local princes. Examples of these are Meuang Soua (the old name for Luang Prabang), Meuang Phainam (the old name for Vientiane), Meuang Sikhottabong, Meuang Champassak, etc. Each of these districts were the result of a combining of groups of people with a common advantage in joining together and a common sense of patriotism for their local region. Each

region contributed its strength and spirit in the struggle to maintain and expand itself. From that beginning, once we Lao became united our will to fight to protect our regional territories was gradually transformed to a will to fight to protect the territory of our country.

From the time that King Fa Ngoum and the people established the independent Lao kingdom of Lan Xang in the middle of the 14th century to the beginning of the 18th century, we Lao had been independent for about 350 years. We then always fought viciously and bravely against outside aggressors to protect our country's independence. For about 100 years after that, the regional rulers fought among themselves to take over the throne and the kingdom of Lan Xang was divided in two. Our independence from outsiders also suffered a setback. Nevertheless, regardless of the times or the situations, our people have always manifested the willingness to fight, which is part of the integral spirit of our nation.

The self-preservation and development of the newly born Lao kingdom of Lan Xang took place in an atmosphere of continuing struggle. On the one side was the internal struggle to prevent the breaking away of some of the regional rulers to protect the unity of the nation. On the other side was the fight against kings from neighboring countries to preserve the independence of the kingdom of Lan Xang.

History has clearly shown this to be true. After the time of King Samsenthai the independence of Laos underwent a big test. In each period the heroes who appeared were those who extolled the spirit of the Lao people which has become a symbol of the will and patriotism of our people.

During the time of King Setthathilat the Lao kingdom of Lan Xang became a strong and thriving country on the Indochinese Peninsula, with its new capital city named Ventiane Sisattanak.

The history of present-day Laos is still one of skillful and brave struggle by the Lao people. They resisted aggression carried out by the kings of Burma on numerous occasions and from numerous routes. Winning victories also included varying periods of highs and lows and our people took very seriously their role of keeping their country free in the face of the danger of aggression from outside. They did this under the leadership of outstanding heroes who received support from the people. Some of these were Phothisalat, Setthathilat, and Sensulin who led armies.

From the beginning of the 18th century until 1828, even though the kingdom of Laos was divided into two parts, it was not destroyed and the kingdom of Ventiane Sisattanak still fiercely and bravely fought against Thai aggression. At the end of the 18th century the peak of this struggle came under the reign of King Anu. The history of Laos, the chronicles, and the legends of the various localities and also the poetry and literature of our land all tell of the gallantry, bravery in battle, the loyal spirit, the strength, and the pride of such heroes as Latsavong Ngao and Phagna Nalin, who manifested their brave ancestry in such a brilliantly outstanding way.

During the time when the French colonialists made Laos a colony, the resistance to their oppression and exploitation went on continuously everywhere, from north to south. Nearly every race and tribe rose up to fight in large or small movements. One movement went on for a quarter of a century; that was the one in the south under the leadership of Ong Keo and Kommadam.

Each of the movements which arose included armed movements. They used flintlocks, percussion rifles, and bows and arrows. They skillfully used guerrilla tactics, which they had learned from antiquity, very expertly. All of the people took part in the fight, the old, young, women, and men. People from entire villages, communes [taseng], and districts abandoned their fields and homes. They went into the jungle, taking their cattle, buffalo, pigs, dogs, ducks, and chickens with them. They made the jungle their fortress. People from an entire tribe, or all members of an ethnic group, and sometimes everyone within a broad area went. There was solidarity and good relations among the Lao Loum, Lao Theung and Lao Soung. It was an all-out, long-term struggle.

From the time that the colonialists arrived to trespass on our territory, a fierce, long-term struggle movement sprang forth in the central and southern regions of our country. It began with the People of Virtue movement of 1901, which first resisted the oppressive yoke of the Thai and then became a movement to resist the French colonialists. Even older is the movement of the people of central Laos under the leadership of Chief Kaduat, a brave hero who was the son of a Savannakhet farmer. Beginning with a march to welcome the People of Virtue, it was transformed into a force to occupy camps and posts. Then there was the struggle movement of the Lao Theung and Lao Loum of southern Laos under the leadership of Ong Keo and Kommadam. This was a vigorous, persevering, long-term movement which went on for 35 years. People in the mountains from Saravane to the Cambodian border and from the banks of Sekong to the Mekong River, were included. Their area of movement was the Boloven Plateau and they had positions on various mountain chains. They relied upon their fellowship with the mountain and plains peoples. This movement in the south created much harassment for the colonial administration in Indochina. The colonialists had to bring in a large force to cope with it, and were forced to change their strategy. They had to resort to evil, deceitful political trikey and economic blockade. This movement was one of the thorniest problems that the colonialists had to face during the history of their colonialism in Indochina.

In the middle of World War I in north Laos there were tremors at many places involving many groups. There were uprisings of the Lu, Ko, Khmu, Aka, and Ho in northern Phong Saly and of the Thai of Sam Neua from 1915 to 1930. Of particular note was the extremely fierce uprising of the Lao Sung in the three provinces of Xieng Khouang, Sam Neua, and Luang Prabang from 1919 to 1922. These uprisings created extreme problems for the French colonialists in Indochina and they were forced to bring in large forces to withstand them.

The brave, strong, persevering uprisings of the Lao people of every race and ethnic background against the oppression and exploitation of the French colonialist system showed the great spirit and patriotism of our people. They showed that they had a strong will to fight and to endure steadfastly every torture of the enemy without giving up.

Although these uprisings were not successful because of many factors having to do with their origin and nature, it is certain that they had a profound effect upon the spirit and thinking of all the Lao people. They built up the nation's hatred of the enemy and turned the spirit of struggle into an extremely inflammable fuel.

This truth helps to clearly explain the large revolutionary uprising at the end of 1945.

After the end of World War II our people and the peoples of fraternal nations rose up in the August Revolution of 1945, seized power, and announced our independence on 12 October 1945. This proclamation was widely known. Thus, throughout the two-thirds of a century that they were under the control of the French colonialists, our people did not let up in their resistance to the French. And because we did not let ourselves be taken in by the wicked policies of the French that kept our people ignorant we joined shoulder-to-shoulder with the people of fraternal countries and rose up to fight the French colonialists and the Japanese fascists, thereby opening one of the most glorious times of our nation.

The French colonialists hastily fell back upon the power of the U.S. and British imperialists and other international reactionary forces to launch a war of aggression against our country and other countries on the Indochinese Peninsula. The historical battle of Thakhek on 21 March 1946 fostered the willpower of our brave soldiers and the courageous spirit of resistance of our army and our people from beginning of battle to end. At that time we could almost say that we had only our bare hands. The enemy had again brought in large numbers of troops from outside and they greatly outnumbered us. The enemy had tanks, artillery, and air cover but they were still firmly repulsed by our forces. Once again the French colonialists sullied the history of France by using bombs and bullets against our people, killing over 2,000 of our brethren, burning homes, sinking boats, and even stuffing small children into sacks and dropping them into streams.

The savagery, oppression, and killing only etched more deeply the spirit of revenge and aroused even more our peoples' spirit to struggle for national salvation. In early 1949 the first unit of the liberation army of the resistance was formed. It was the Latsavong Unit, formed on 20 January 1949 which has become the anniversary date of the founding of the Lao People's Liberation Army. Then in early August 1950, the first great conference of free representatives from all over the country was assembled. The conference unanimously passed the resistance policy of the Free Lao Front and the Resistance Government. Later in the spring of 1951 the Indochinese People's Congress established the Lao-Vietnamese-Cambodian United

Front to urge on the people of the three countries to advance the work of resistance until complete victory.

After that the struggle movement of the people of the three nations jumped to a high level and launched campaigns one after another. We liberated Houa Phan Province and expanded liberated territory throughout the country in a continuous north-south belt.

After the historic victory of the brave Vietnamese people over the French Foreign Legion at Dien Bien Phu (May 1954) the French government had to sign the Geneva Agreements (July 1954). Thus, after over 60 years of living the life of slaves, losing our homeland, and suffering hardship, difficulty, sickness, and lack of education; after several decades of continuous struggle, and 9 years of resolute mass resistance to the French colonialists' war of aggression, we forced the French government to recognize the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of our country. This victory brought a halt to conditions of suffering in our nation and marked our nation's historic progress since the beginning of this century, in an era in which mankind was launching self-liberation struggles.

When, in August 1945, along with fraternal peoples and nations, we rose up in revolt, we were, in fact, in some ways already prepared to counter the aggression of the French colonialists. While fighting the French, we still were not thinking realistically and completely about a greater and many times more difficult test with the American imperialists, who were in the next stage harsher, more vicious, and more tenacious. However, from our 1945 revolt and victory over the French colonialists (1946-1954) we were able to draw the strength for victory over the American imperialists (1955-1973). The initial struggle prepared us for the final fight and each battle multiplied the people's strength. In our life and death struggle with an enemy who always outnumbered us, it was normal that we could not avoid losses and sacrifices. However, the great victory that we achieved, the fruit of the revolution, and the lessons we learned in the struggle, was indeed a great one.

During the years that our people sought this elusive opportunity, one which comes once in a thousand years, when we first rose up after World War II to fight off both the French and the Japanese, then we had only our two bare hands. But once we had established a new administration and had to conduct resistance against the French colonialists for 9 years, our patriotic forces grew as if by supernatural powers. These powers sprang from no other source than patriotism, determination to liberate the nation, and the revolutionary guidelines we drew from the unbroken spirit of our forebearers and of those who served the revolution coupled with revolutionary theory and practical application. It was found in the fraternal solidarity between the Lao, the Vietnamese, and the Cambodians. It was known in the strongholds of our mountains and the majesty of the Mekong River. The more our patriotic forces attacked, the tougher they grew; the more they attacked, the more they were victorious. Then we had to confront the imperialist aggressors, a greater foe than any in our history, and our own strength and our deployment increased several times. Following this victory, our difficulties and

hardships were still not at an end, but our inherent strength and the epochal forces of revolution expanded with utmost speed and strength. Our enemy and his ranks, including those in his own ghetto, had subsided into exhaustion, trembling and shaken to the roots. The historical truth of this is clear and it has become the truth of the era. It is a standard for revolution: From nothing to something, from little to plenty, from weak to strong. When a people has dared to revolt, then it will find no obstacle too great, and there is nothing it cannot do.

The Greatest Experiment in Our History

We had just achieved victory over the old colonialist French only to have to confront the new U.S. colonialists. In fact, the U.S. imperialists had had their eye on our country for a long time, and had begun to share in aggression against us even in the French era. In January 1944 when fascism was near defeat, the American imperialists devised a trick to insert themselves in place of the French colonialists in Indochina immediately by setting themselves up as an international police force in the area. With regard to the Indochina problem, a memorandum from Roosevelt, then president of the United States, to the British government stated on this point that "France has dominated this area (Indochina), inhabited by some 30 million people, for nearly a century, but the people there have fallen into even greater hardship than before. They are entitled to a better fate." In May 1950, Dean Acheson, secretary of state to Roosevelt, declared that: the American government had agreed to provide both military and economic aid to the "countries of Indochina" and to France, with the intent of "restoring security and furthering true nationalism" in Indochina. In September 1953, Dulles, U.S. secretary of state, issued a statement that the war in Indochina "has affected the vital interests of the United States in the Pacific." What "vital interests" are these? U.S. politicians and journalists made it clear that: if the United States should "lose Indochina, the United States would become an island in a sea of communism," and the United States would lose "the gateway to raw materials necessary to her industry," as well.

In July 1964, Dean Risk, U.S. secretary of state, addressing the Senate Appropriations Committee, said, "Our (United States) desires and our (United States) abilities in the area of aid to the 'lawful government' of Laos is a vital matter in our (United States) mission to advance freedom, just as we are trying to achieve that mission in South Vietnam." In February 1966, U.S. President Johnson stated that, "Laos is an important link in America's defensive chain." His words caused some to recall Dulles' statement of some 10 years earlier which called Laos "a key point in the American strategy of containment."

In order to illustrate more clearly the evil intentions and policies of the U.S. imperialists toward our country, we should reiterate the statements of an American professor named [Almond] who taught in England, was an expert on Laos and Indochina, and had visited our country several times. He recently wrote in a leading West European magazine that Laos is the "first

country in the domino theory" which is an infamous U.S. theory of aggression. It holds that, although U.S. imperialism has never been driven out of any country in the world, when they are driven from one country many U.S. strategists fear deeply that they will steadily lose the military bases and neocolonies necessary for their world domination strategy.

The changing events of the past 20 years show quite clearly the malicious intentions, the tricks, and the actions of the American imperialists in their interference in and aggression on our country.

After the signing of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 concerning Indochina, carrying out its provisions the resistance forces regrouped in the two provinces of Hua Phan and Phong Saly. Not long afterward, in early 1955 or, more specifically, only 5 days after the Katai government was formed, the first pro-U.S. government in our country, the U.S. neocolonialists massed 10 battalions of mercenary troops (two-thirds of the total forces) which had been turned over to them by the French and attacked our areas in hopes of wiping out the resistance forces and eliminating the two regroupment provinces.

During this period even though the U.S. imperialists had just been defeated in the Korean War (1950-1953), it did not reduce their obstinate pride and they still displayed their power by resorting to force of arms. Their arms included nuclear weapons and, even though they no longer had a monopoly on them, they stubbornly adhered to a strategy of "massive retaliation." It was in this period that the United States established the Southeast Asia aggressor bloc (SEATO) which then U.S. Secretary of State Dulles always insisted extended something called a "protective umbrella" over Laos, South Vietnam, and Cambodia.

However, our people's initial test of strength in the neocolonialist war of aggression, waged with U.S. arms and tactics by former French mercenary troops commanded by U.S. officers, showed definitively the limitations of U.S. capability. Not only did the military forces and people defeat the Katai-U.S. mercenary forces in the two regroupment provinces, but people throughout the country angrily resisted the enemy. As a result they forced Katai and the United States to halt the fighting, sign the Vientiane Agreement of 1957, agree to implement a policy of national concord and to establish the first national coalition government. Later, at the time of the supplementary elections of 1958, even though our people were directly under the yoke of the U.S. neocolonialism, they once again bravely and resolutely showed their spirit of national concord. The number of seats which the former resistance forces were honored to win in that election attested to the complete victory of justice and of our people's will to struggle for peace, independence, and national concord in the initial struggle with the U.S. neocolonialism.

U.S. interference in line with its world domination strategy caused problems not only in our country but throughout Indochina and in the world as well. Even though this period was at the end of the Eisenhower-Dulles

administration which liked to use bold strokes of power around the world, the U.S. imperialists still showed clearly their true essence as international policeman. On the one hand, they obstinately maintained their anti-revolutionary, world domination strategy of "massive retaliation"; on the other hand, they began to play a new game called "peaceful change." In fact, when it became necessary for them to let representatives of various factions in our country sit down together "in harmony" in the first national coalition government, they plotted "to trick the tiger into coming out of the jungle," divide revolutionary forces, increase the strength of their lackeys, and hurry preparations to destroy more cruelly and savagely the work for peace, independence, and national concord. For this reason, 3 months after the supplementary elections, near the end of 1958, the United States toppled Katai and replaced him with Phoui Sananikon in a cunning but cruel plot to destroy the first government of national concord. They had Phoui use the trick of "conferring rank" on the members of the integrated Pathet Lao battalions in order to disarm them and "to transfer" them into Phoui Sananikon's own army. But more daringly and audaciously they imprisoned the leaders of the resistance who had integrated.

These various actions of the United States and Phoui Sananikon to destroy national concord and peace were returned in kind by the people immediately. The battalions of the People's Liberation Army including the brave Second Battalion disobeyed the audacious and evil orders of Phoui Sananikon and the chief rightist officers who demanded that the Second Battalion "lay down its arms within 24 hours." The Second Battalion passed through the encirclement of mercenary forces while safely maintaining their strength and together with former resistance armed forces and people throughout the country received orders to resume attacking the armed oppression of the United States and its lackeys. When the U.S. policy of destruction and renewed warfare using a new playing card, Phoui Sananikon, met continuous defeat, the American imperialists "changed horses" all of a sudden. They dropped Phoui Sananikon and set up Phoumi Nosavan to lead implementation of a more fascist policy of suppression and destruction. The evil policy change of the United States and its lackeys focused on the discontent which was heating up among the people and within part of the armed forces of the Phoui-Phoumi Nosavan clique itself. In less than 3 months after the miraculous, historic escape from jail by Prince Soupanouvong and the other resistance leaders, the sparks spread all over the country and the flame of struggle among the people rose up into a great conflagration throughout the country and raised high the patriotic spirit among people of all classes, even among the ranks of the other side's soldiers. On 9 August 1960 part of the "Voyal Army" known as the Second Paratroop Battalion staged a coup d'etat in Vientiane after the officers and men of the battalion objected to an order from Phoumi Nosavan, bringing the flames of war into the territory controlled by the United States and its lackeys.

The war headquarters of the United States and Phoumi Nosavan, which openly included Thai reactionary administrative authorities and troops and which violated international law and the borders and territorial sovereignty of our country, massed forces in hopes of putting an end to the uprising of

the officers and men of the Second Paratroop Battalion. However, the patriotic forces responded on time to the call of the Second Paratroop Battalion headquarters and for the first time there was close cooperation between a rebellious part of the "Royal Army" and part of the patriotic forces in the struggle in Vientiane city. The coalition forces attacked the U.S.-Thai-Phoumi Nosavan forces and forced them to retreat. However, in order to preserve their strength the coalition forces withdrew from Vientiane along Highway 13 through Vang Viang, Meuang Kasi, and the Sala Phou Khun road junction from where they headed to seize control of the Plain of Jars and Xieng Khouang. After that the rebel forces and people all over the country rose up and changed the direction over to armed struggle. The struggle was fierce, won victories from north to south, and forced the United States and Phoumi Nosavan to ask for negotiations. Negotiations lasted 14 months and took place in the Plain of Jars, Ban Namon, and Hin Heup in Laos and outside of Laos in Zurich, Paris, and Geneva. The armed struggle won an historic victory at Luang Nam Tha forcing the Americans and their lackeys to sign the Geneva Agreement of 1962 which established the second national coalition government.

The 1962 Geneva Agreement concerning Laos was signed 8 years after the 1954 Geneva Agreements and recognized the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Laos for the second time. This agreement underscored an historic truth of the present era, namely that no matter how rich and powerful the Americans are, in the present era, no matter how merciless and efficient they are, and no matter how evil they are and how many tricks they have to advance neocolonialism which they recently derived from the former colonialists, they cannot use a gun-muzzle strategy or political and economic neocolonialist tricks to subjugate a nation which believes in bravely and determinedly standing up to them.

However, the 1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos was violated and destroyed immediately because the interfering and aggressive nature and the cruel black-heartedness of the United States had not changed. The world domination strategy of "massive retaliation" of the Eisenhower-Dulles clique had crumbled; the Kennedy administration (begun in early 1961) had decided on a new world domination strategy of "flexible response." At a time when they were resolutely expanding nuclear weapons and preparing for nuclear war, they also had a policy of "limited war" in which two nations fought using conventional weapons, "partial war" (meaning warfare using U.S. forces abroad) and "special warfare" (meaning a new form of war) in which U.S. forces had only an advisory role and in time of necessity only a strictly limited portion of U.S. forces would enter the war. On the ground they would still use "special forces" with the U.S. Air Force providing key support, and local troops would make up the fighting units on the ground. Local manpower and resources would be mobilized to take part in the war. During that period the Kennedy administration waged "special warfare" in South Vietnam to suppress the historic mass uprising of the South Vietnamese people. However, the war in South Vietnam was a test of the strategy and it was an immediate failure, forcing the United States into intervening on a large scale in South Vietnam.

The intervention and aggression in our country by the U.S. imperialists since the signing of the 1962 Geneva Agreement has been intervention and aggression of utmost savagery and efficiency. Every time they encountered defeat their insane striving made them increase the savageness and cruelty even more. By crouching beneath the deceptive labels of "aid" and "closeness" as well as the falsities of "cooperation," "charity," various "cultural" activities, and interference and intervention in economy and finance, neocolonialism has become an agree in our country using every ruse and using U.S. and non-U.S. organizations, working through organizations set up by countries allied with or subordinate to the United States and working through the involvements of individual Americans or individuals of other countries present in large numbers such as Japanese, Thai, Filipinos, etc. They have done this in order to conceal easily the real U.S. face until they gained control of the markets in the towns and villages in their zone of control which extends into highland or remote tribal areas and into the southern part of our country. Everywhere there are reflections of the United States and their lackeys. If we compare it with the former French administration in our country which initially comprised less than 100 people and expanded to 100 and then 200, the current invasion of U.S. neocolonialism, besides weapons, war materials, commercial goods, and other materials, speaking solely of the personnel invasion, the number is enormous and appears countless compared to the former colonialism.

U.S. neocolonialism which the world describes as "The United States: The Silent Partner," might order various penetrations but instead merely uses secret silent partner signals which have the capability to direct all phases of the work of ruthlessly destroying our country. If buying or hiring doesn't work they threaten. If threats don't work they kill patriotic neutralists who have exposed themselves by taking part in peace, independence, and neutrality movements in our country such as the open assassination of the noted patriot, Quinim Phonsena, who is mourned and missed by the people even today. For the United States, to change lackey governments is no different than to change clothes. Every time the U.S. policy of interference and aggression meets defeat, they make even more cruel, destructive attacks on our homeland, concentrating on the patriotic forces and the liberated areas. In these areas vegetation and animals of all kinds became targets for burning and destruction by U.S. bombs, shells and poisons. From today to succeeding generations, our children and our history will remember deeply the terrible crimes against our territory committed by the U.S. imperialists who were determined to destroy our beloved homeland and wreaked havoc on our land for a long time. Four-fifths of our country (the liberated areas) have been contaminated by poisons which will long be a danger to trees, grass, and farmland, and every family among Laos' 3 million people have suffered the misery of being separated and having loved ones killed. How many families no longer live together in warmth and love? How many of our compatriots' families were flown from the liberated areas in U.S. C-130's and imprisoned and tortured in places they called "refugee camps"? How many people died of starvation and disease? This was the case at the Na Louang concentration camp behind the Long Cheng base. Our compatriots who were detained in this place died by the thousands from communicable diseases and

poisons. Their story filled with pitiful cries and moans was printed in the newspapers in Vientiane during the dark days of Operation Ku Kiat (August 1969) which was the first operational test of the "Nixon Doctrine" just 1 month after Nixon had announced that world domination strategy at Guam in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. If the French colonialists killed our people slowly through deprivation, ignorance, and division in the war of conquest over our homeland, U.S. neocolonialism killed many times more of our people with exceedingly evil and cruel designs. The special warfare strategy of the United States made use of buying, pulling, or bullying young Lao highlanders to become "special forces," "secret soldiers," and commando units (teams) which were scattered among various villages to create trouble and launch destructive and murderous attacks. But they still were heavily defeated and tens of thousands of them were wiped out.

Another terrible crime committed by the United States was to bring the American "way of life" into the zone controlled by their lackeys. They created a number of lackeys who held the dollar and U.S. goods higher than the fate and honor of the nation. These people gave their bodies and souls to serve the objectives of U.S. neocolonialism in our country. At the same time they poisoned the younger generation into becoming discontented and going in the wrong direction through the American "way of life," which holds that wealth and possessions are the big things and that individual benefit is important and which is rotten, degenerate, and crumbling, instead of the mutual love, care, and assistance way of life, the old, bright way of life with justice and friendship which we inherited from our grandfathers. This is the greatest danger about U.S. neocolonialism. They know well that only to use invasion and intimidation of a nation and to make its people slaves with bombs and shells, and with cruel material subjugation is only old colonialism and is not enough. They also make efforts to erase the customs and traditions which have existed in a nation since ancient times. They then can "change" a nation easily based on dividing them and leading one part astray by forgetting their nationality and caring only about following in U.S. footsteps. In addition they use dissatisfaction to eliminate the good nature of men. In the present era, one in which national consciousness and individual consciousness to be one's own master have been elevated higher than at any other time, the thing U.S. neocolonialism hopes for is for people to become animals, to succumb to their materialistic wants and their base desires so their nations can be intimidated into becoming slaves.

However, in this era in which the consciousness for human and national liberation has been raised higher than at any other time, U.S. neocolonialism has no evil spirits and no supernatural powers even though they have the power to go to the moon and the planets. But in our world people are still the decisive force for their own preservation and the development of their societies. People still have clever, clearsighted intellects and resources with which to decide right and wrong, to preserve their good qualities and their nations, and to protect peace, freedom, and justice. Also, U.S. neocolonialism is like the aggressors throughout history, who not only use bribery, temptation, and trickery but the essence of all the aggressors is that they always resort to the use of force in cruel and daringly open

oppression in times when their magic spells and attractions are no longer effective.

Operation Ku Kiat, which was an invasion into the Plain of Jars and Kieng Khouang beginning in August 1969, showed that the United States and its lackeys in our country at that time were making a tremendous effort. They massed a force of the U.S. CIA's heartless mercenaries, or "special forces," under the direct command of the U.S. Embassy in Vientiane and the U.S. military advisors. The U.S. newspapers described in detail how every morning in Vientiane in the war room of the so-called U.S. "diplomatic" organization, the U.S. Embassy, the U.S. ambassador himself sat listening to reports, personally making marks on the battle map and issuing orders to each air squadron, to each mobile commando team, and even to each battlefield, launching savage infantry and air attacks into the liberated areas, while also taking part in "diplomatic" activities to create pressure and carrying on psychological warfare among people of all classes in the areas temporarily controlled by the United States and its lackeys.

U.S. neocolonialism revealed its cruel, heartless, war-loving nature by hurrying about using every modern trick, stratagem and tactic. The U.S. Embassy was more powerful than the French Governor's Office and had a mechanism for directing the war, an intelligence mechanism (CIA), and a huge supply organization (USAID), whose chief was considered "the second prime minister" of Laos. In addition the CIA organized, fed, and commanded Lao-Thai mercenary fighting forces who were protected by the U.S. Air Force.

At that time the Nixon administration was trying to lift up U.S. interests which had gone bankrupt in South Vietnam since the days of the Eisenhower, the Kennedy, and especially the Johnson administrations. But what kind of magic spell could U.S. imperialism and the "Nixon Doctrine" have that would redeem their so-called interests which had been shaken to their foundations! On the battlefields of South Vietnam, the Nixon administration was not able to find a solution in order to meet the gallant, forceful offensive of the patriotic forces which were under the leadership of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam. In our country even though Operation Ku Kiat caused enormous losses to the people of the Plain of Jars and Xieng Khouang, the first test of the "Nixon Doctrine" was unable to achieve its objectives which were to eliminate our patriotic armed forces and halt the momentum of the high wave of the Indochinese people's armed struggle. Because of this, in the last days of defeat of Operation Ku Kiat in the Plain of Jars and Xieng Khouang the Nixon administration committed a new crime which will be long remembered in the histories of the United States and of Indochina, the coup d'etat overthrowing the independent, neutral Kingdom of Cambodia under the leadership of chief of state, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, and later escalated the war by pouring hundreds of thousands of U.S. and Saigon puppet troops into Cambodian territory. Thus, the Nixon administration audaciously spread the fires of the U.S. war of aggression to all parts of the Indochinese Peninsula which was a risk that previous administrations, including the Eisenhower administration, had not dared to take.

But the "Nixon Doctrine" immediately brought serious dangers to its instigators with great leaps in the expansion of resistance in Indochina. At a time when the U.S. imperialists had set a trap for themselves in Cambodia and were foundering in the wars in Cambodia and South Vietnam, our people liberated many areas including strategic locations long held by the United States and its lackeys, such as the Dong Laven Plateau area, and the "special warfare" strategy of the United States was dealt an extremely heavy blow on the Plain of Jars-Xieng Khouang Plateau in a battle which wiped out many units of the Vang Pao "special forces" and Thai mercenary forces that participated in Operation Ku Kiat.

But Operation "Ku Kiat" was neither more dishonorable nor a bigger defeat than other "Nixon Doctrine" operations in our country. After their extremely risky military venture in Cambodia the U.S. war command in Indochina launched another risky operation which was larger than any other and which ended in greater defeat than any other. It was the pinnacle of their military effort and at the same time marked the beginning of their decline which they were unable to halt in the U.S. war of aggression on the battlefields of Indochina. This was Operation "Lam Son-719" into which they poured the greatest number of U.S. and Saigon puppet forces, together with a portion of the Vientiane puppet military forces, in an invasion along Highway 9 adjacent to South Vietnam and in the eastern part of our country's Savannakhet Province. As everyone knows, it was an operation in which the United States massed both U.S. and Saigon puppet combat-seasoned troops, especially Saigon military units which the United States built into their fighting force on the Indochinese battlefields to attack places they considered important in the "solar plexus" of resistance in Indochina. This extraordinary effort which was carefully calculated in detail met complete defeat. That began a decline from which they were unable to extricate themselves for the United States and its puppets on the battlefields of Indochina. Everyone knows well that after this extraordinary effort of the United States was smashed to bits, even though Nixon used particularly well-conceived and intense diplomatic and political methods, he was unable to prevent the Lao-Vietnamese-Cambodian resistance forces in Indochina from launching offensives, each in their respective territories, to win final victory. One clearer than the rest and of a decisive character was the general spring offensive of 1972 by the South Vietnamese Liberation Army on all battlefields in South Vietnam which forced the U.S. government to negotiate more seriously with the victorious opposition in Vietnam. These negotiations had dragged on for a long time since they began after the victory of the People's Army of South Vietnam in the spring offensive of 1968. On this occasion they played every evil trick and angle to deceive the Vietnamese resistance forces, including the highly risky strategic sneak attack using B-52 strategic bombers to bomb Hanoi, Haiphong, and other cities in North Vietnam after Nixon's top advisor, Henry Kissinger, had announced that peace in Vietnam was "within arm's reach!"

When the U.S. monster was forced to back down and lose face in the Paris negotiations, to sign the historic document ending the war of aggression in South Vietnam, and to withdraw all of its military units, the bilateral negotiations in our country advanced more briskly. The two sides arrived at

the Vientiane Agreement and then the Vientiane Protocols which encouraged the advancement of national concord by establishing the Provisional Government of National Union and the National Political Council of Coalition. This opened the curtain on all the victorious and glorious events that have been and are happening to our nation.

These things do not mean that imperialism in general and U.S. imperialism in particular have changed their aggressive, warmongering, destructive nature in any way! They still seek every method of opposing the work of peace, independence, unity, democracy, and permanent prosperity in our country. In fact, they are still using their ultrarightist lackeys in our country to oppose us in various more cunning and evil forms. But all their insane actions and plots are being watched closely by our people and are countered suitably in order to preserve and defend our fatherland which is our sacred duty.

The defeat of the U.S. imperialists in our country is not hard to understand. No matter how strong their forces or how large, their cruelty and injustice ran counter to the progress of history and their defeat was inevitable. The U.S. imperialists were the new big imperialists but no matter how much they sharpened up on or how much they studied lessons on the successes and defeats of colonialist imperialists who preceded them and no matter how skillful they were, they became a lesson for the unjust and were behind the trend of history. That unjust power met resistance from a nation which had had an extremely long history before the birth of the United States and which made use of the basic conditions of the era which was one of revolutionary fervor. That nation was an integral part of a big, strong alliance which believed in uniting to back and assist the people's struggle in the three countries of Indochina. If the U.S. imperialists had strength and lessons in oppression and aggression, we, too, had strength and lessons in resisting oppression and powerful aggression, lessons that were constantly expanding and multiplying. Our strength is our children who are growing up. The thing which was difficult for the U.S. imperialists to forecast was that, although they were rich and strong, the more they attacked, the more their wealth and power became limited and the stronger the resistance became. The more we attacked, the stronger we got. That is a principle of revolution and of progress, a special symbol of an era in which the people rose up in struggle to liberate themselves. Their great sin was that the limitations on the U.S. imperialists lay within the United States itself. This means that at a time when they were being attacked by us and by the whole world, the peace- and justice-loving American people launched all kinds of attacks from within their fortress. At the same time within the ruling circles of the United States there was dissension and among imperialists there was incessant confusion, wrangling, and dispute. In the last phase of the war of aggression against Vietnam and Laos, the U.S. Congress issued a report of a study on that war which made some truthful observations as it said that this war "taught" the United States that "in the last half of the 20th century, white men (French colonialists and U.S. imperialists) with lots of weapons in their hands cannot decide the fate of countries in the Third World" and "the United States cannot be the permanent guarantor of stability in a world

which is evolving and changing in many ways." The United States "must accept a period of local revolutions and local wars" including many things that would be fearful to U.S. neocolonialist policy and that the United States "does not have the power to prevent nor sufficient knowledge to resolve or eliminate" (U.S. Congressional Record, 1972).

Nevertheless, with unchanged character, after they signed the Paris Agreement on Vietnam and permitted the Vientiane Agreement on Laos to be signed the U.S. imperialists continued to place their greedy hopes in neocolonialism in the Indochinese countries. They have plotted to revive their power to dominate the world by restoring the yoke of U.S. colonial administration in western Europe and Japan while clinging to their narrow interest in Latin America, the Far East, the Middle East, etc.

But it is obvious that the U.S. imperialist forces are no longer adequate to carry out their insane dream! Western Europe which was temporarily subject to the United States for a period of time is turning its back on America. Among the underdeveloped countries that have strongly risen up in struggle, 100 million Arabs in the Middle East raised the flag of struggle for ownership of their own resources. Simultaneously they joined in armed struggle to resist the expansionism and aggression policy of the United States and Israel. The countries in Latin America repeatedly struck with a heavy hammer against the oppressive and larcenous policy of the North American imperialists by various forms of their numerous, fierce and violent struggles.

Meanwhile, the people of the two fraternal countries--Cambodia and Vietnam--stood shoulder to shoulder with our people in the cause of struggle to bolster their recently achieved peace and independence, to carry out national reconciliation and build their countries into prosperous nations by marching along their historical paths aimed at completion of the task of national liberation by repeatedly throwing the fire storm against the dark forces of the U.S. imperialists and their puppets in Phnom Penh as well as Saigon, destroying their strategy of the war "of Cambodia," "of Vietnam" and smashing the last foundation of the American imperialists' present world domination strategy. More important are the splendid and latest victories of the people of Cambodia and Vietnam in the spring of this year which caused the balance of forces in Indochina, Southeast Asia as well as in the world to change in another most important step. They will certainly be major causes of the further increase in revolutions in the world. During the period of just over 20 months after the Paris and Vientiane agreements had been signed, the various changes that took place in the revolution of the Indochinese countries were strong and rapid. In particular, they hit like a thunderbolt against the latest world aggression "doctrine" of the U.S. imperialists of domination of the world. As a matter of fact, during the period of many decades of pursuing their intention to dominate the world, the U.S. imperialists have never had any of their world domination strategies wrecked so rapidly and abjectly as with the "Nixon Doctrine" which was based on the direction of all his acts from the adoption of the policy of "strength" to the policy of "shared responsibility" among the allies and

his henchmen to the use of hard "negotiations." Also, more important are the triumphal and complete victories of the Indochinese countries' revolution in the decade of the seventies of this century which have caused the so-called "backbone," the "threat" of the U.S. imperialists' aggression and intervention "doctrines" to shatter. This has really been the truth since the time of the Truman doctrine which came into existence in the decade of the forties of this century and was based on the principle of "threat" toward the world by means of nuclear weapons. By the Nixon-Ford-Kissinger era, this was based on the principle of "actual threat" through nuclear weapons and other strong weapons and measures of various types. Despite that, up until the present day, the giant of the world imperialist forces not only could not "threaten" anyone but also it turned out to be the reverse; by the same token they were knocked down, "flattened," by each small country! This clearly confirms that the world situation nowadays is undergoing various great and new changes and that the latest aggression and intervention "doctrine" of the U.S. imperialists has been outmoded. The latest U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention "doctrine"--the Nixon Doctrine--of utilizing the Indochinese countries as the first testing point was likewise destroyed by the Indochinese countries themselves. Phasing out the "doctrine" created an opportunity for the whole world to destroy the foundation of the U.S. imperialists' world domination strategy which was filled with greedy but weak and impoverished hopes that have been completely dashed throughout the world.

As for our side, after struggling for nearly 20 years under extremely difficult conditions, including times when the difficulties seemed insurmountable, our nation endured inflictions and irreparable damage to the nation as a whole, to each family, and to each individual and made great sacrifices. That was the greatest test in the history of our nation. However, the results we attained are of incomparable value. They are the maturation of a nation with a consciousness for independence, the will to liberate itself and strength in unity which has been tempered and tested repeatedly and which no force has been able to destroy. The national spirit of independence has created heroic groups and individuals who in the days to come will make our nation stronger and have it march far along the path of world prosperity. They are the beloved children of our fatherland who have the power to protect its territory and which force of arms will be able to force to surrender; they are the brave, glorious Lao combatants who on the summit of Phu Kut endured savage enemy bombing and artillery barrages without retreating and, on the contrary, unleashed a fire storm on enemy troops each time they attempted to breach our heroic northern gate to the Plain of Jars; they are our combatants who held firmly, as strong as steel, at Ban Dong on Highway 9 which collected the bodies of a division of U.S. fighting forces in Indochina and which signaled the decline of aggressor forces which had received backing under the "Nixon Doctrine." They are the brave, splendid Na Kae (now Meuang Viang Sai) unit who unleashed fire on the lords of thunder, the U.S. "monsters," who violated the air space over our revolutionary strongholds, and shot them down. They are our countless heroic units and individuals who struggled night and day for over 7,000 days in the enemy's belly, who demonstrated their spirit of loyalty to the

nation and the people, and who steadfastly organized the masses to rise up and resist the plots and wicked actions of U.S. neoimperialism which tried to change the essence of our people, to make them lose their spirit and became slaves. Our courageous, concerted struggle found heroic groups and individuals arising out of their everyday duties: neither armed combatants nor combatants who carried rakes and plows could disregard the enemy bombing and shelling but they protected the high grasslands, rice, and yams to feed all the people fighting the enemy. All the women of Laos, our mothers, wives, and sisters all over our country, were interested in and worried about our cadre and combatants. Teachers and students in each canton and villages, even under the threat of shell bursts, carried out their teaching and studying duties in addition to producing enough food to feed themselves, and training to be strong in national defense and to have a high level of social awareness. Countless fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters, youth, students, intellectuals, degree holders, civil servants, and important villagers from the plains as well as the towns and in the capital did not disregard the enemy's pressure, but they still had a firm spirit of patriotism and mutual assistance and took appropriate opportunities to display boldly and openly their spirit to struggle for peace and democracy for everyone. Among groups and individuals bearing arms and drawing salaries from the United States and its lackeys there were cases of brave demonstrations of opposition to the enemy aggressors and traitors; there were military units which the United States created, supplied and commanded which rose up to fight against the United States and its lackeys; there were police and military police units formed by the United States and charged with guarding prisons for revolutionary leaders but which, after having been awakened, acted in accordance with a patriotic Lao sense of justice and protected and led revolutionary leaders out of prison and through the enemy encirclement; and there were civil servants, including high ranking ones, who bravely and boldly openly stood up to protect the banner of independence and national concord. Among our group and individual national heroes an especially deep source of pride in our brave struggle was the role of Buddhist priests. Large numbers of priests and novices combined the just qualities of Buddhism with a high spirit of patriotism and national solidarity to play an important role in the work of saving the nation. The nearly one-third of a century old struggle of our Lao peoples attained and currently has had and is having its highest achievement in the vast revolutionary forces among whom each person and each unit has set examples as Lao people who are passing on the heritage of our forefathers and achieved the highest things of the era, namely: to conduct their lives themselves, honestly, purely, and radiantly; to respect and honor friends and relatives; and to be big-hearted and generous toward visitors. Individual conscience, the honor of the fatherland, and the conscience of the era combined to make our people into a type with the strength to struggle hard and bravely with no thought of backing down in the face of adversity. Our people were born and grew up close to heroic mountains, jungles, rivers, market towns and villages that became strongholds of resistance and revolution whose names are deeply entrenched in history, from the fields and mountains along the Mekong River, from the northernmost provinces to Sam Neua and the glorious Plain of Jars, across heroic Highway 9 down to the southern plains and plateaus, as well as the

mountains along the borders with friendly countries. All over the country there were patriotic, revolutionary places which were really fortresses in the resistance against the United States.

These are priceless resources that we have created and turned into the increasing strength of all of us. It is the growth of a people with a heritage of decisive uprising, not weak surrender, who also are members of the present seething revolutionary era.

Deeper Feelings

The path which our nation has traveled has been really bent and twisted but extremely glorious, especially the path of our difficult struggle, filled with sacrifice, to resist the interference and aggression of U.S. imperialism. We are extremely proud and happy to carry on in the glorious footsteps of our forefathers and to stand shoulder-to-shoulder with the whole world marching fervently on the revolutionary path of the era. From actual struggle we have amassed many priceless lessons, but among these we might and must confirm some deep trials, not only in order to understand the past but for use in the present and the future.

Above all our people's will to struggle decisively, courageously, enduringly, and steadfastly is the root of the strength of our great national solidarity and the origin of the hidden strength of a people.

The U.S. imperialists' interference and aggression against our country was an extremely embarrassing mistake to acknowledge. But at the same time, with their colonialist mentality and their feelings of racial superiority, which have long been characteristic of them, they really looked down on our peoples the most, to the point that a general in command of U.S. aggressor war forces in our country who was the on-the-scene director of the special warfare as a testing place of the world domination strategy of "tactical response," General [Hayert], PEO commander, while reporting to the U.S. Congress told the Congress to "take note of" and "not forget that ... Laos is 87 percent illiterate" and they do not understand the meaning of the words "democracy" and "communism" at all.

How can it be? The U.S. neocolonialists despise a people about whom outwardly they say without a catch in their voices that they are "friends" and "promise to aid" them on the basis of "equality" and that they have a "close relationship." How can it be like that? Based on the disdain for our people already mentioned they, therefore, used the left-over mercenary troops which the French transferred to them and estimated that 5 days after having set up their lackeys in administrative power in our country, they would eliminate resistance and patriotic forces of our people like a thunderbolt. But when they stuck their heads into the two regroupment provinces, not only did they get their heads broken and battered on the battlefield, they were also unmasked by the uprisings and struggles of the people of the remaining 10 provinces in the country. These were solid support movements supporting the forces resisting the U.S. imperialists. Later on we forced

the U.S. imperialists to let the factions in Laos sit down together at the negotiating table and implement national concord. How do they understand the overwhelming landslide vote of the people in the areas controlled by the French colonialists which later came under the more effective domination of the oppressive machinery of U.S. neocolonialism when they were trained and directed by noted U.S. schools, policemen, spies and oppressors. Even though the Lao people were "illiterate" and "not capable of understanding the word democracy," they demonstrated their decisive determination not to give in and their courage in the face of U.S. bayonets and spit on the "seduction" of the U.S. dollar, and resolutely cast their votes for the best representatives of the patriotic and resistance forces.

That was fortunate! Today, many American scientists have pointed out that human understanding and intelligence cannot be measured only by intelligence quotient level; high or low levels of knowledge and understanding do not come only from textbooks. Even though textbooks are very efficient things for human understanding, our people's understanding and intelligence derive from their patriotic spirit and their courageous determination not to give in which have been inherited from our forefathers. No matter who the people, when they gain a national consciousness, they gain patriotic spirit and conduct their lives under the banner of correct and watchful leadership of the revolution. Their just strength is that no one can defeat them, and the more the aggressors close their eyes and ears and inherently despise and look down on them, the bigger and heavier their defeat.

While Dr [Hayert], the American colonialist general, was displaying his inherent limitations and ignorance before the U.S. Congress, that was the time that the simultaneous uprising of the Lao masses erupted violently and spread throughout the country in firm opposition to the plots and actions of the United States and its lackeys who destroyed the first national concord when they falsely imprisoned our leaders who had joined the coalition and expected to blockade, capture, and wipe out the liberation armed forces. The flames of simultaneous uprising spread and became the conflagration of war heaped up by the people as revenge on the enemy. From then on, uprisings, the great crop planted by our people, flowered and bore fruit every day throughout the next period of struggle and became models of heroism and bravery for our country.

U.S. colonialism along with the brutal propaganda horns of other imperialists could not slander or twist the truth of the brave, decisive spirit and actions and the finest results of our people's struggle. The deceitful attitude of the U.S. colonialists could not slander or twist our people's firm and idealistic spirit to struggle to save the nation. This was not likely an isolated or temporary occurrence as according to the reactionary propaganda of the imperialists' propaganda horns. Rather it was the essence of nation-saving and building and of a spirit of hatred of national enemies from ancient times. It arose from a deep awareness about national rights and interests and of each person's struggle in the face of the destiny of the fatherland.

How did the colonialist mind explain the show of strength which was characterized by "sounding out the opinion" of the public. young people and students in Vientiane, Luang Prabang, various towns, and many other places all over our country on the day on which Chairman Souphanouvong and other representatives of the Laos Patriotic Front from the liberated zone were welcomed on their entry into the two neutralized cities to make preparations for the establishment of the Provisional Government of National Union and the National Political Council of Coalition? How can they explain the student movement in Vientiane in which revolutionaries of a more counterrevolutionary mentality were not able, with their strong military forces and all their cruel but ingenious tricks to attract, buy, or coerce, to affect the willpower or the decisiveness of the younger generation toward working for peace and national concord or their complete trust in the patriotic forces and the leaders of the nation? This show of strength was an insurance policy for the work of strengthening peace and implementing independence and national concord. Anyone who continually denies the reality of the strong patriotism and determination not to give in handed down from our forefathers to this younger generation cannot understand our nation and falls into the same kind of self-delusion as U.S. neocolonialism and old French colonialism. In fact it stands on the point of view and the understanding of a group with a policy of "foreign fear and intimidation" which is a kind of "foreign policy" of gangster robbers who force their victims to "voluntarily" hand over their wallets. Such a group could certainly not understand a people's awareness and the brave spirit of struggle for national salvation. As a result, the previous old colonialism and the present neocolonialism merely took turns drowning in a mud puddle. When they light the flames of aggression against various countries they light the flames of their own destruction.

Moreover, when speaking about our people's brave and glorious resistance, the imperialist chieftains still twist the truth saying that it is not true that our people struggled wholeheartedly for national salvation against the United States but rather that it was external forces. One thing which exposes and unmasks these fabrications is to talk about the second cause which brought about our people's decision to take on the task of national salvation against the United States. That cause is our leadership.

When twisting our people's glorious and brave national salvation task, the U.S. and pro-U.S. psychological warfare specialists tried not to mention the historical truth that our people have had a spirit of nation-building and saving which from time to time we have produced national salvation heroes. During the lengthy period of the old system our people produced such nation-building and saving heroes as Fa Ngum, Setthathilat, etc. It is to be expected in the present era in which mankind has launched an era of liberation, the historic steps forward look really bright. The fact that our people rose up in 1945 and established one of the first independent states in Southeast Asia means that this great historical event did not lack the element of leadership and the element of correct, clear-sighted, national leading personnel and organizations.

In the nearly one-third of a century just passed the bright, clever, correct and clear-sighted leading organizations raised high the banner of mass solidarity to resist external aggression. The efficiency of a leading organization rests on firmly grasping the banner of mobilizing the masses and on whether its policies and struggle methods are correct. The banner of the Free Lao Front at the time of the anti-French resistance and the present-day banner of the Lao Patriotic Front closely combined our people's patriotic struggle movement with the patriotic struggle movements of the fraternal peoples and close neighbors of Vietnam and Cambodia, with the aid and support of socialist forces, of democratic and socially progressive forces in the capitalist-imperialist countries, and of national liberation and independence movements around the world, which put our national salvation struggle in the mainstream of the wave of national liberation and independence and heaped spearpoints on the U.S. imperialist aggressors. The path and the steps mentioned determined the present magnificent victory of our nation. That was the way of self-help and strengthening the nation ourselves, of pouring out an inner strength as well as using it to the fullest for self-expansion for decisive victory in the era of human liberation. At present the fate of a nation, no matter how small or how far away or elusive, is tied up with the fate of the world as a whole. This differs from the period when our grandfathers fought so bravely around the beginning of the century when the curtain had not yet been raised on the glorious new era which now makes it more convenient. Among the difficulties faced by the peoples of the world who are still on the path of self-liberation, the first is probably the element of decisionmaking, that is, leadership of the struggle. The people who lead movements in "finding the way" and in mobilizing the masses, while they possess the know-how and the capability to organize the mobilization of the entire nation to decide to struggle for their own liberation, also know to grasp firmly the basic opportunities of the era and are apt to lay out a proper, clear-sighted line.

In fact when a nationality has ranks of leadership and its leaders have a clear, scientific line, that nationality has everything: revolutionary masses, revolutionary forces, and other fundamental things for victory. Among the ranks of revolutionary leaders in our country is the person of Prince Souphanouvong who is a prince of the royal family and an intellectual who has trained and tempered himself into a courageous revolutionary and who, along with his fighting comrades, has selected the correct path of national salvation for his nation. Along with his fellow leaders he united with the fraternal peoples within the country and the peoples of the Indo-chinese Peninsula and leaned heavily on the world revolutionary movement to lead the national task forward to our current glorious victory. The event in which the people of the two neutralized cities and people of other places throughout the country welcomed the chairman, the leader of their nation, with very deep and strong affection when he entered the two neutralized cities to prepare for the creation of national concord showed truly the national spirit of affection and strong solidarity. It also demonstrated the decision of our entire nation for the long-term task of strengthening peace and implementing independence, national concord, democracy, unity, and permanent prosperity in our fatherland.

Our Indochinese Peninsula has produced not a few intelligent, capable and clear-sighted leaders and has contributed the physical effort involved in this task of the peoples of the peninsula. We long for Chairman Ho Chi Minh, the teacher and father of the fraternal Vietnamese revolution, who was also the greatest, closest friend of our people and those of Indochina. Now people all over the world know clearly that he left his beloved country before the Russian October Revolution to seek a way to restore his nation. He went to the land of the invaders of his country and of Indochina. He saw that the Soviet Union, the first socialist country in the world, was the birthplace of world revolution. After that he encouraged small, weak peoples to struggle to liberate themselves. Chairman Ho Chi Minh spoke most accurately about patriotic spirit. He said, "The true, correct patriotic spirit is completely different from the reactionary imperialists' narrow spirit of nationalism. A patriotic spirit is a part of an international spirit."

That is the strongest point of all national liberation and independence movements and a very dangerous blow feared by imperialist aggressors and their reactionary lackeys. Therefore, the imperialists and their lackeys' wheels of propaganda, psychological warfare, and war of espionage scream ceaselessly day and night and take every opportunity to slander and falsely accuse us and to twist our actual activities and our extremely correct revolutionary policies including our solidarity with the peoples of Indochina and international solidarity. This solidarity is essentially different from the conspiracy of the capitalist imperialists and their lackeys. Because peoples who have suffered or are suffering oppression are not likely to oppress or aggress against friends who are in the same unfortunate condition. Moreover, the essence and form of organization of the socialist system and the people's democratic system definitely does not have an oppressive or aggressive character. Karl Marx said a century ago that, "A nation which oppresses another is itself not free." No matter what capitalist imperialism says in its propaganda, there probably is not freedom in its own countries, particularly among the majority of the masses. If there is freedom, then it is only for the minority of oppressors. The nations which have risen up victoriously against oppression and aggression definitely must have freedom and certainly have contentment.

We are proud and happy to believe in the banner of our nation's correct and clear-sighted revolutionary leadership, the banner of national solidarity, Indochinese solidarity, and international solidarity. It is the banner of victory in battle at any time and guarantees the glorious and grand progress of our nation even if we meet sizable difficulties or obstacles. We are deeply proud of our people, of our nation's brilliant history which has tempered us into a brave, strong nation, definitely not weak, and of our clear-sighted, correct leadership. Currently our nation and banner of leadership are joining in the forward phase of the great victories of the era of revolution. We understand clearly that when consciousness for independence and the will to be our own masters are aroused in each of us, they will become strong resources, capable of gaining victory over all enemies, no matter how big and strong those enemies are. We also understand clearly that if

a nation's leadership banner is made up of a clear-sighted group, that nation will have enough strength to carry out the great revolutionary task that that nation's people are waiting for.

All the great accomplishments that our nation has gained from the national salvation struggle movement against the United States are due to the part played by the flesh and blood, sweat, and brains of our peoples who carry on the heritage and the lessons of our forefathers together with valuable lessons from world revolutions. In addition our flesh and blood, sweat, brains and valuable lessons play an honorable part in the task of world revolution. Brian Manfred of the American International Volunteer Service (IVS) in Laos wrote in the "Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars" at the end of 1970 that the U.S. "special war" in Laos was one kind of war which the United States intended to become "a model for all U.S. efforts in the future, concentrating on counter-guerrilla warfare in each area" so that "in the next 10 years, when the United States intervenes in the Third World, their actions will come from the lessons in Laos rather than repeating the lessons of the defeat in Vietnam."

The U.S. defeat in their "special war" in Laos was a defeat of a textbook strategy of using ground forces (comprised of the puppet troops of the "Royal Lao Army," "special forces (CIA-Vang Pao)," and Thai mercenary troops) plus the U.S. Air Force in the "Nixon Doctrine" methods of using force which completely crumbled. This, therefore, raises the question whether or not this still is "a model for all U.S. efforts in the future" in other countries. The lessons of the Lao victory over the "special war" and U.S. neocolonialism will certainly have an honorable place in the national liberation movements of the world. Moreover, the lessons of Laos are lessons about creating an extremely solid force united in struggle and dedicated to victory. It is one of the highest, most beautiful examples in this era of revolution. These lessons were collected in the joint communiqué of the Indochinese people's summit conference as follows: "The glorious battlefield victories of the three Indochinese nations have smashed the boastful arrogance of the U.S. imperialists, the leader of the imperialist band, the cruelest enemy of mankind, and made them encounter extremely widespread difficulties within the United States and in the world. The glorious battlefield victories of the three Indochinese nations attest to the fact that the U.S. imperialists used all of their cruel powers, yet they got what they deserved when they violated the sacred right to life of nations that were united and determined to fight to their utmost in order to gain independence and freedom for their fatherlands. The glorious battlefield victories of the three Indochinese nations play an important part in and are a great encouragement to the struggles of other nations for independence and peace throughout the world."

Part Three

Support and the Frenzied Tempo of Life in the Nation and the Era: The Fight to Eliminate the Growth of Evil

In the nearly 20 years of the progressive movement for national salvation against the United States our nation had gained peace and national concord twice; now is the third time. The two previous times we arrived at peace and established national coalition governments did not last very long and ended in the wicked betrayal of the enemy.

From the signing of the Geneva Agreement in July 1962 until last year the Patriotic Forces and our people had to face extremely large-scale, cruel aggression in order to advance to the present great victory.

When we look back at these historical events superficially, perhaps everything will be like it was and the outcome may be the same as it is. We are not fortune tellers but we must analyze events scientifically to find the causes that led to breakdowns the previous times in order that we might have clear observations about current and future conditions.

Through the generations that we have held firmly to the struggle for independence and freedom, the thing that our people desired most was peace, the true peace of an independent country whose people are not slaves of foreign aggressors. Certainly this kind of peace was not likely to be satisfactory to either old or new colonialists. It is not necessary to talk about the crimes and tricks of the old colonialists. However, speaking solely of the current U.S. neocolonialists, they are not likely to consent to a peace which is contrary to their evil intentions. And when they are preparing to renew war or when they have started or are starting it, they never forget to use the trick, which was the most exhausted, of brandishing clubs while concealing their hand and branding the people they are aggressing against and their allies as "agitators" and "aggressors." The colonialists take the position of raising their tattered banners of "peace" and false "closeness."

A sovereign and independent nation definitely must create solidarity among all classes of people and must build harmony in the nation. This is even clearer for a small, united, slowly developing country. But these things which the colonialists "could not accept" were the causes that led to evil directions of development before, not that it won't happen again now. Nevertheless, the balance of forces has changed; our capability to restrain the enemy is absolutely greater than before, and we are watchful and alert. The lessons of the two previous periods of peace and national concord warn us that we must be careful and alert and must be firm and united with renewed belief and vigor. We know how to maintain and expand the strength and reputation of the revolution and progressiveness and to constantly increase the benefits attained from them. We will never lack watchfulness and will not forgive the dangerous, risky tricks of the enemy. If you play with fire, you get your hand burned. Hasn't starting war three times been a painful, bitter lesson for the destructive influences who started it?

Our people are now quite different from what they were previously. The forces that struggled for peace, independence, and national concord will never be as strong and firm as they are now. If princes of the royal family, politicians, ministers, deputy ministers, directors of bureaus and departments, civil servants, military officers, and true-spirited people have clear minds, we will be able to ward off every destructive plot of the traitorous warmongers. The Patriotic Forces always stick firmly to their role of being the center pillar to protect things that are precious or sacred such as all the fruits of our national struggle. The forces of peace and national independence are presently firmly unified and the mass movement is twice as big, strong, and clever as it was during the war. They have won victory in war three times and currently have many capabilities to do away with the destruction of warfare and aggression launched by the U.S. neocolonialists and their lackeys.

What do the U.S. imperialists want now? In its words the United States calls for the establishment of an "orderly world system." They want to have "stability among nations" and want to bring these things into actuality through "diplomacy" and "negotiations" from a position of "flexibility," but their objective remains "to build forces to put down or control revolution!" This is the Nixon-Kissinger style which people have heard until it hurts their ears, since before these two leaders of the United States came into power. Now a new pair, Gerald Ford and Kissinger, are using the old style. It isn't enough that they add to their growth. Kissinger has written clearly that the United States considers itself "a great power as usual" which means that the United States, the superior great power, will not allow the world to change its role as international policeman and its fundamental strategy is "readiness to resist any change of a strategic nature" even though they are concerned with the problem of "how to effect an advantageous strategic change" for themselves.

U.S. leaders always stated openly that at a time when "the remaining empires" (referring to the old colonialism of England, France, etc.) were declining in Asia it was "in the U.S. interest" to encourage U.S. "advance to the west" across the Pacific Ocean! They openly issued statements many times that the United States must be "a great power in the Pacific Ocean," and the United States plots to use Japan and Indonesia as "allies," as fortresses of theirs in the Pacific Ocean, are in order to balance political influence in that region. They think that they will never withdraw from these lackey countries, just as they will not withdraw from their military bases and new-style colonies in the Pacific such as South Vietnam, Thailand, the Philippines, etc. In these countries the United States has had a "change in military doctrine" which is to use local mercenary forces instead of U.S. military forces to wage wars of aggression in the colonial interests of the United States. The use of local, mercenary troops has several advantages such as in lessening the resistance of the American people, concealing U.S. "involvement" abroad, reducing the opposition of the people of the world by concealing U.S. aggression, as well as in allowing their lackeys in various countries to raise the false banners of "independence" and "democracy" in order to deceive their people. The use of local,

mercenary troops has advantages in speaking a common language and knowledge of the terrain for carrying out "antiguerrilla" activities better than U.S. troops. Economically it reduces outlays (as U.S. secretary of defense in 1969, Clifford, said, the money it takes to support one Asian mercenary soldier is only one-fifteenth of the money it takes to support one American soldier). That is the essence of what the United States and its lackeys in Indochina and Southeast Asia call "cooperation" and "regional alliance."

The phrase, "withdrawal of U.S. forces from the Asia mainland" is not likely to mean U.S. withdrawal from the Asia mainland at all. The "Nixon Doctrine," which is the newest doctrine but a defeated one, talks that way and Ford and Kissinger are presently continuing that policy. The "doctrines" for the U.S. domination of the world all contemplate use of mercenary troops to fight wars of aggression for the United States while the United States uses its forces to "support" them. These forces consist of forces stationed on the seas, on aircraft carriers, on other combat ships, on submarines equipped with missiles with nuclear warheads and of forces stationed on islands in the middle of the ocean to the mainland from Guam in the mid-Pacific to islands in Japan, Subic Bay (Philippines), Sattahip Navy Base on the Thai coast and on Thai territory and are the U.S. strategic backbone. Currently the United States uses Diego Garcia Island in the Indian Ocean and Masira Island in the Arabian Sea and there is the possibility for the United States to use Egypt's Suez Canal which is open and operating smoothly and other bases that are aligned with the United States, England, or other U.S. "allies" in the Mediterranean Sea, the Near East, the Middle East, and along the shores of the Indian Ocean. The recent bloodshed in Cyprus and the continuing crisis of change is the unfortunate product of nothing other than U.S. imperialist criminal interference in an attempt to do away with the neutrality of a democratic Cyprus led by Archbishop Makarios. This was a plot to make Cyprus become a base for aggression and for launching war by the United States and the U.S. faction (North Atlantic bloc--NATO) in the Mediterranean Sea, the Near East, and the Middle East. In fact, in carrying out the new U.S. nuclear strategy, they are also carrying out and will continue to carry out their greedy, lustful objectives such as moving deep into the Indian Ocean and staying there in order to guarantee the seizure of major U.S. interests in Southeast Asia, on the Asian continent, and in the Indian Ocean. In Southeast Asia, in particular, the United States gets 85 percent of its raw rubber and 80 percent of its lead. The United States is still looking for a huge oil field in Southeast Asia. In 1971 alone, the United States invested \$10 billion in the Indian Ocean area. One of the strategic and economic duties of the United States is to guarantee a response to all commercial activity and to supply raw materials and equipment to the United States.

The U.S. neocolonialist policy toward South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos and their policy of building bases of aggression and a new type of colony in Thailand and using the administrative power of their lackeys to resist strengthening peace and national concord in Laos, were clearly evil directions to take, forever threatening the just actions of our country. These dangers lay within our own country even though the United States and its

ultrarightest lackeys in Laos tried to conceal them, for example, the resistance to implementation of the Vientiane Agreement and Protocols, including U.S. placement of military disguised as civilians in civilian organizations in the two neutralized cities, and carrying on such activities as espionage, commando actions, psychological warfare and spy warfare. In addition the pro-U.S. ultrarightist generals and colonels in our country tried to create a military force by taking (former and current) divisions and royal combat units and turning them into a system of local battalions with the good-sounding name of "development units." They did this, in fact, to oppress the masses. The local development battalion system combined with the system of semiarmed "civilian soldiers" of Nguyen Van Thieu in Saigon, which were to lie low in villages organized into districts under the former Vientiane authorities under the guise of "discharged soldiers returned home" plus hundreds of aircraft of all kinds, including combat and transport aircraft and aircraft subordinate to the central headquarters and to the various military regions are for the purpose of creating a U.S. mercenary force in our country to prepare for the insane U.S. plot to renew the war against the forces of peace and independence in our country when conditions are right. No matter how the White House, the Pentagon, the U.S. Department of State, and the CIA try to conceal it, the U.S. command system and Thai "advisors" are bound to be closely attached to the Lao military structure like meat sticks to the bone. These preparations are in the orbit of U.S. aggressive "doctrines" in Asia.

Alongside war plots the United States very determinedly carried out peace plots. Their plots along this line meant involvement in every field between the United States and the host country including diplomatic (embassy and consulates), economic, and political relations, U.S. aid, and U.S. welfare activities in either a "charity," "cooperation," or "mutual assistance vein." U.S. aid ("USAID"), propaganda, and cultural organizations such as the U.S. Information Office ("USIS"), literature teams, newspaper delegations and the American and non-American tourist groups were used by the United States to collect government secrets. The effect of psychological warfare and spy warfare was to sow suspicion and division to decimate the ranks of patriotic, revolutionary, and progressive forces. The U.S. imperialists tried very hard to make our people's true thoughts and actions for revenge go astray, especially to separate our people from the people of our fraternal neighbor countries, and to make every effort to put roadblocks or difficulties in the path of our revolution and our strengthening of national concord. They dominate and threaten our independence and neutrality in order to attain their objectives of making our country a U.S. base of aggression and new type of colony.

Nevertheless, present conditions differ from previous ones. Over 10 years ago when they had to abandon the factions of Laos to work out a Lao coalition, the U.S. imperialists still stubbornly continued the war of aggression in South Vietnam and still had self-deluded hopes of "winning victory" in Vietnam. Therefore, they made every effort to destroy our people's task of national concord. Moreover, later on the Nixon administration did away with the independent and neutral state of Cambodia in an attempt to escape defeat in South Vietnam.

But the situation in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam did not change in accordance with the insane, stupid, self-deluded U.S. desires. On the contrary they developed in a most favorable direction for the people of the Indochinese countries and for the Indochinese revolution, and currently play a big part in the revolutionary task in Southeast Asia and the world.

The forces of peace and national independence in the world as well as in our country are strong enough to destroy the evil expansion instigated by U.S. imperialists. The U.S. imperialists wasted \$600-700 billion and millions of American and lackeys' lives in the war and they poured one-half to two-thirds of their army, navy, and air forces into a very small area of the world. But in the end they had to sign peace treaties with the revolutionary forces. These facts reveal clearly their overall weakness in sources of energy, of ability to wage war, and of their antipersonnel weapons. Do they dare start another war anytime soon? When the United States takes a balanced look at its forces it will have to return to using a plan of "toleration." In the face of dissension and a multitude of difficulties within the United States and between the United States and members of its faction and in the face of the growth, strength, and high alertness of the peace and national independence forces the U.S. imperialists must consider the counterblows they will receive if they risk launching a new war of aggression, even if it's a "limited war."

Nevertheless, in order to destroy their capabilities for evil, we must keep tabs on all the plots and actions of imperialists in general and of U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in particular. The changing situation in our country from the time that the Vientiane Agreement and Protocols were signed until now shows clearly that the U.S. imperialists, even though they always keep themselves concealed, and their lackeys are not likely to give up counterattacking us with words as well as with actions and murky plots. Therefore, if our thinking on this matter is vague or too short-range, we will lose the chance to play a part in blocking the occurrence of capabilities for evil. But we are all aware of the strength of the revolutionary forces and of our peoples in raising high the consciousness of struggle to maintain the great fruits that our nation has won. Acting in time to block a number of coup d'etat plots both before and after the establishment of the Provisional Government of National Union and the National Political Council of Coalition required acts of alertness and dedication by our forces of law and order and of the people of towns and cities to block and punish the risky, insane plots of the United States and its ultrarightist lackeys in our country as well as reactionary Thai who are on the U.S. payroll. There are mysterious struggles of a more or less faceless character that occur constantly in the ranks of the national armed forces, one faction of which consists of warmongering generals and colonels who are U.S. lackeys and the other of the majority of officers and men in the armed forces who display the tendency to stop or oppose maliciousness or conspiracies to destroy national concord, peace, and order in our country.

The situations in the past show the immense capability of the revolutionary forces and of the people. These include forces of the masses in the armed

forces, in the police, among civil servants, and in state organizations at all levels, besides the big, strong, Patriotic Forces that are prepared to join in and support the difficult struggle for the peace, independence, and unity of our country. We have sufficient conditions for destroying evil capabilities since we have the Provisional Government of National Union and the National Political Council of Coalition, the highest institutions of the state. We have also begun to develop effective national administration under the guiding light of the political program which people of all classes and nationalities throughout the country are increasingly studying, discussing and expressing their opinions about methods of implementation. This is central to having true total national unity of thought and action.

The Entire Nation: A single Aspiration, A Single Will

After decades of a difficult and arduous struggle, our nation is now unified. We have a National Political Council of Coalition, a Provisional Government of National Union, and a political program for the entire nation which has been declared to be in effect and has received lively debate throughout the country.

The political program reflects the aspirations and the collective will of our entire nation, each and every one of us, to strengthen the peace we have won, to strengthen national concord, to strengthen independence and democracy, to implement free, democratic rights for the people, to try to make our nation prosperous and civilized, and to play a part in working for peace, independence, democracy, and justice in the world.

All of us know that our national enemy is extremely obstinate and that they are likely to continue to plot to invade and oppress our people and enslave them. Until the time when they are forced to stop the war of aggression against our country and to withdraw their military forces and military personnel from our country the U.S. imperialists, now or in the future, will continue to plot to place the yoke of Pax Americana on the necks of our people. Even the top leaders of the United States have stated openly many times that they would like to force the world into a condition of "not war but not peace." That is the world-famous Pax Americana.

Our nation's task of strengthening peace depends on the revolutionary consciousness of each of us in the entire nation to the enemy's plots of destruction and of launching wars of aggression. If we want to protect our bright, clever, revolutionary spirit and the determination to actively defend peace in our country, we must rely on a foundation of national concord. If our entire nation combines into a single block, united in hearts and minds, and serving the work of independence and prosperity of the fatherland, no reactionary force will destroy it and our peace will be true, beautiful, stable, and lasting.

Peace is the overwhelming desire of all our people. We have had to sacrifice flesh and blood from one front to another to obtain it. But peace can be won and made stable only on the foundation of our nation being independent, our peoples being in harmony, all our people being free and the

masters of the country, and together working to make their fatherland prosperous and solid.

By continuing our glorious national heritage of unity and mutual love and assistance, a heritage of fighting bravely for national defense and to build the nation based on justice and the strengths of the era, we have determinedly wiped out old transgressions and suspicions and built solidarity with sincerity and cooperation among all people without distinction as to who stood yesterday among the ranks of the United States and its lackeys but today have been awakened to concern for the fate of the nation and have returned to live among the national brotherhood with mutual love, to erase the last vestiges of U.S. neocolonialism, and to work for peace and independence. Our fatherland absolutely must be a single, complete entity. We Lao people from north to south, no matter from what family, nationality, or tribe, must be a single, unified whole. Former divisions and enmities will gradually fade away as hot water slowly cools. Liberated areas controlled by the Patriotic Forces appeared and exist out of the national salvation movement which is filled with obstacles. They still must be strengthened continuously because our nation's enemies have not abandoned their murky plots. However, progress for liberated areas is progress for our nation in national concord, solidarity, and unity.

We are extremely proud to read the shocking words and spirit of national concord and independence in the text of the political program. We must concentrate our strength and intelligence on making this program a reality. This historical document is a declaration which calls to action, shows the way, and explains the ways we should think and act.

We are indescribably happy and contented to have gained the right to think for our own country and of the duties related to its destiny, the tasks and future of our own nation, the expansion of patriotic spirit, brotherly love throughout the nation, and new ideas for improving the peace, independence, and freedom which we have recently achieved.

That is a true feeling of independence and freedom. This is independence and freedom which we can clearly see and can breathe the air of independence and which we are beginning to improve and develop, not just dream about. We should remember the words of a Russian writer of a century ago written at a time when his nation was submerged in slavery. He wrote that his people were "a miserable people, an enslaved people and from the hills to the plains everyone is a slave." (Essay "Lesson in a Title" by the great Russian democratic revolutionary, N. Chernyshevsky)

That is really true. When a nation is not independent, no person of any class in that nation is free and independent. The poor and the laborers will not very long submit to oppression and exploitation. Certainly, if they are not independent, people of powerful rank or vast riches cannot likely be independent. On the contrary, when a country gains independence all of its people are free and independent. Independence and freedom will create well-being, solid and true wealth, and general happiness because,

when you have independence, you have everything. When our nation became independent politically, all of our citizens, whatever their position and duties, developed their capabilities in order to take part in the common tasks of the fatherland. At the same time they took part in the lives and special well-being of every individual and of each of our families.

Before gaining our current historical victory our nation had never been truly independent. Several times the old colonialism proclaimed what it called "granting independence" to our nation. This independence was a false "independence," a false commodity not lacking in the capitalist market. Neocolonialism knows more about applying cosmetics. It propagandizes about what it calls "independence" with much more clever and dangerous tricks than the old colonialism. Distinguishing between the true and the false when it comes to sacred national rights is not difficult. Merely consider whether, in relations between two parties, each party is equal and its own master and whether or not each party is sovereign. Neocolonialism also has "many more forms" than old colonialism. When old colonialism pulled this trick they were capable of "granting independence" to their subordinate countries. When neocolonialism gives false independence to its "allies" it brings in its retinue and lackeys in droves to compete for and fight over that country with sharper and more clever tricks.

Political independence must be coupled with economic independence. This is an extremely difficult task because we must begin with our two bare hands under the very severe condition in which we have been left by the old and new colonialist systems. Now and in the future, as long as capitalism and new and old colonialism remain in the world, reactionary interests will try ceaselessly to crush or block our efforts to build an independent economy and to be our own masters.

The economy in areas controlled by the Patriotic Forces, even though there is deprivation and the level is low, is based on an independent foundation and being our own masters with a system of strong, democratic control to serve the interests of the people. This contrasts with the economy in areas administered by neocolonialism which is facing tremendous difficulties because it is tied to outside countries. These include standard of living, employment, the poor, greed, corruption, illegal and immoral occupations, and pursuit of personal interests at others' expense. While conditions are quite unsatisfactory for reviving and expanding production and neocolonialism is acting to embed itself dangerously in our economic underpinnings, particularly through U.S. "aid" and the economic infiltration of a number of Thai, Japanese and other foreign capitalists, they present great obstacles for our capability to right everything in a short time. In this we agree wholeheartedly with the statements of Juan Velasco Alvarado; president of Peru, after the ceremony to sign the historic "Ayacucho Communique" of the Latin American continent in the latter part of 1974. He said, "Our nations will have full freedom when they are masters of their own fate.... This means that our countries must decide on the path toward being our own masters, without any pressure or interference from abroad. It means that our boundless resources must be surveyed and we must recognize

our capability to create new social, political and economic structures and organizations in our countries which we decide on for ourselves and which are in line with our realities. We also must clearly recognize that the path on which we are proceeding for our existence and for history is one which we and we alone are creating with our own intelligence, our own hands, and our own hearts...."

That is really true. The path along which we are moving to build our country's economy must be a national democratic path, a path in which the people's capabilities and sources of energy alone unearth and bring into use better and to a higher degree than anyone else. That contrasts with the wicked plots of neocolonialism which hides itself under labels like "aid" and "cooperation" and employs all kinds of extreme economic and financial actions to serve policies of war, aggression, concealed espionage activities, exploitation of natural resources, and interference in the internal affairs of countries that receive the "aid." We say clearly that the "aid" from USAID to our country over a long period has done nothing to aid our economy but has been to make our country continue to exist under the oppression of the U.S. neocolonialist system. The state has money to spend. The people have goods to use. But everything is dependent on the United States. Halt U.S. "aid" and the state which has been fed by the United States will not be capable of continuing to exist. The unfortunate result of exploiting national resources such as forests, paddy fields, and plantations without people's organizations is that raw materials and products are exported at cheap prices for the benefit of U.S. war needs and immoral riches of a number of U.S. lackeys.

Who would not feel hurt when they see with their own eyes the devastation of the jungles due to exploitation for profit with no conservation practiced. Looking around the environs of Vientiane is enough to see the cruel results. This has also caused the beautiful, thick jungles with which nature has adorned our land to become eroded and dried out. When we say that our country is beautiful and rich that is quite true. We are sitting on a mountain of gold but we will be rich only in the future. Now we are still very poor. In order to make these future riches of ours come true all of us, whether we work with our hands or our brains, must work diligently and intelligently, with a strong patriotic spirit and sacrifice, but without fear of problems in order to overcome obstacles and arrive at our final objectives of a beautiful and abundantly rich future for our children and their children and all succeeding generations.

In any economic system we must insist on guaranteed political independence for our nation. However, that is not compatible with the objectives of U.S. aid. In fact, several U.S. administrations have stated this clearly each time they have concluded aid agreements with foreign countries. U.S. presidents and secretaries of state from one administration to another have taken turns to assure the U.S. Congress that "U.S. aid to other countries is in the United States' own interest." Besides U.S. economic aid there is U.S. military aid about which every U.S. secretary of defense has clearly said, "The military aid that the United States gives to various countries

is a low-risk, economical way to replace directly related U.S. military forces." Here we jump back to the famous slogan of Ho Chi Minh, the former president of our fraternal Vietnam, which might be the slogan of every country which sticks to the objectives of its struggle. It is, "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom."

A system of independence which is master of its own economy does not mean it will rely solely on its own strength. Such a state may still rely on aid and cooperation from abroad, to include fraternal, friendly countries far and near, with regard to investment, technical assistance, and perhaps even labor. That is the case in our country which is a small country with a small population. The more aid and cooperation we can get in the areas mentioned, the better off we will be. But one immutable principle must be guaranteed. Foreign countries may not interfere in our internal affairs in any form. Such aid and cooperation must concentrate on building a foundation for an independent economy and mastership of our country and no other objectives. Since we are building a basis for economic independence and mastership of the country under conditions of deprivation and backwardness while we have plenty of untapped resources, we should take every opportunity to barter our resources for capital, technology, and labor from abroad. Based on our full ownership of our mineral deposits we should make our country one with advanced industry to ensure that we are self-sufficient and are strengthening ourselves. Cooperative exchanges with other countries will be based on equality and mutual advantage, with neither domination by one side nor inequality in the relationship. We will definitely counter and expose plots which hope to make our country a source of brainpower, raw materials, and goods for other countries seeking war or to exploit us and our country into a dependency of a country granting us aid.

We must think about what shape our fatherland will be in in the future based on actual conditions, the capabilities of our nation and of the era, and the efforts and capabilities of all our people to play a part. Our country lies in a region of the world that is blessed with abundant resources especially highly valued metals which have not been exploited. That is why old and new colonialism looked with desire and fought a very cruel and savage war for decades hoping to gain control of our country. Now it is clear that when nations in this area are democratic and independent and their people are free, this part of the world can have stability and the stubbornly greedy, no matter how hungry, must understand that the age of using aggressive force to seize control of mineral deposits in other countries has passed and will not return. If they acknowledge the right to national independence, including the right of ownership of mineral deposits, after establishing relations and cooperation, no door will be closed to them. In fact in our era there are several examples of relationships free of colonialism. Among these is "the proper cooperation between industrialized countries and developing countries which is mutually beneficial." Therefore, even though many obstacles still lie ahead of us, our people and our nation are determined to advance into a new era where peace is preserved, national independence is strengthened, and our country and neighboring countries take part in an economically prosperous area of the world. Then our rich resources will be used for the benefit of peace, friendship, and wealth of

each nation and of all mankind. Our country will eradicate poverty and backwardness, and increasingly move up to science and technology, and take part in the advance of culture in the world.

Peace, independence, and lasting prosperity must have the people as their source and master. The foundations of democracy and freedom, which have long been the dream of all our peoples, must be implemented strictly and resolutely and made real. We are most grateful for the king's concern about the people's true rights and benefits. In a letter dated 28 May 1974 to Prince Souphanouvong, chairman of the National Political Council of Coalition, the king commented briefly on the political program that the council had passed saying, "We can only hope that in the near future free travel will be possible throughout the country so each person may feel deeply that it is his own land for which he must dedicate his efforts to make it prosperous and must sacrifice his life and blood to defend forever." This is true, the dream of each of us and within our own duties we each use all of our powers to implement quickly freedom, democracy, and the other sacred things for all our compatriots. The political program specifies that, "The people are the foundation of the nation. The nation will be independent when the people are free." That means freedom for each person and each organization working to defend and build up the fatherland. Specifically, this means the right to earn a living and to work, freedom of thought and expression, the right to protect the lives and property of individuals and organizations, freedom of movement and place of residence, freedom to join organizations for personal benefit, and especially the right to vote, to stand for election to any institution of the state, and to work for implementation of national policies of defending the peace and social order, of developing the national economy, and of preserving and expanding culture, education, and fine arts, as well as freedom of marriage and family, freedom of person, the right to health protection, and the right to protect and foster material and spiritual in living conditions for all our beloved people. To sum up it means that every one of our people of all ethnic groups and tribes, all regions and classes, all occupations, and all leanings has free, democratic rights. These are true free, democratic rights in all areas, political, economic, and social, and there are guarantees that these rights will actually be implemented. Laborers in a truly democratic, independent system must be a relatively highly valued source of wealth and must be protected, fostered, and respected as a larger and more precious source of wealth than any other. This is in the context of our desire to make our fatherland prosperous and strong. Big and small entrepreneurs who are the people who play roles in building the economy of a nation must be guaranteed freedom of enterprise and occupation in order to contribute to a just prosperity for themselves as well as for the nation. On the other hand the nation must be guaranteed creation of strong, viable enterprises by these entrepreneurs. People who make a living in free enterprise, civil servants, and military and policy officers and men are all caught up in the machinery of the state and must be guaranteed free, democratic rights, freedom to carry out their duties, and guaranteed living conditions. On the other hand the state has entrusted them with performing jobs to guarantee democracy. The conditions for guaranteeing democracy and legal systems and

regulations for implementing democracy must elevate the responsibilities of each person, respect for the public interest, and concern for the free, democratic rights of the people. Each person must try to be honest and pure, to love and respect the people, and to strive mightily to effect changes in the ugly evils of the old order such as: forms of punishment, squeezing and irritating the people, corruption, and suppression of the people's free, democratic rights. In addition, our people will develop the right to be one's own master in order to struggle uncompromisingly against any apparent opposition to free, democratic rights, and we will do everything to block strictly all such mistakes. Truthfully speaking, democracy may be fully implemented when every one of us, every citizen, has a firm grasp and joins in the work to set up the machinery, a force to guarantee the security of democracy. That is the urgent need of all our people. We should know that when the free, democratic rights of our people are guaranteed, the energy to build our nation will be raised high and all difficulties and obstacles will be eliminated. Then the sacred work of our nation will be accomplished rapidly and magnificently.

It is clear that national independence, freedom, democracy, and patriotic spirit are abstract ideas, but they are also real issues. National independence must be shown in actuality in thoughts and actions to preserve and protect the territories of our fatherland and to make it ever more secure. Freedom of every person must be demonstrated by their working for the fatherland and for their fellow compatriots, by their doing everything to increase their intelligence and their capabilities based on mutual thinking and effort, and by participating in the work of the fatherland, not by individualism and destruction of our territory for individual benefit and prosperity.

The patriotic spirit of each of us must be demonstrated by both thoughts and actions. That is true patriotic spirit, true national consciousness, and the will to protect and develop our beloved fatherland.

Based on the peace and independence recently gained we have begun to develop the foundation for freedom and democracy, which must be developed beautifully and as different as water and fire or heaven and earth from what is called freedom and democracy in capitalist countries such as the United States. That kind of freedom and democracy is reflected in U.S. elections. They are like political plays in which the actors are the people with wealth or special power who use gigantic propaganda machines in attempts to defeat each other. Or they are like gambling in which the losers are not the gamblers but the American working people and taxpayers who let the bankers use modern vehicles to compete for supreme power in order to exploit the people and reduce their living conditions to hardship levels. The capitalists get richer every day and compete with each other for domestic and world markets.

But this era of ours is one which will replace capitalism according to the laws of human society, with a new social system more progressive than the old crumbling system. Beginning with the Russian October Revolution socialism has replaced decaying capitalism in a portion of the world. The glorious socialist path is wide open to any nation which has gained independence

and built true freedom and democracy in order to advance to prosperity, well-being, and lasting prosperity. It is the path that many nationalist countries have chosen to move from slavery and poverty and to liberate themselves and choose the direction of progress. This is particularly true of Africa which old and new colonialism had drowned in a sea of blood and tears, but which rose up to travel the path of glory. Its leading country is the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria which is the pride of the "Third World." In Latin America, behind the banner of independence and self-mastership of the People's Republic of Cuba, the path traveled by Peru, Panama, and others shows the progressive direction which must be followed in our era: socialism.

We support the articles on culture in the political program. Our nation has an excellent cultural heritage. We must research, preserve, and develop the highest things in our national culture that were abandoned by our forefathers in order to expand the unique, valuable customs and traditions of our nation. At the same time we must be exact, thorough, and precise in our detailed examination to eliminate foreign influences which are dangerous to science and progress as well as to our nation's spirit of self-respect, of self-support and of making ourselves strong.

Our nation is one composed of many nationalities and tribes. Therefore, our duty is to respect highly the valuable unique and general points of each nationality and tribe and combine and elevate them as the unique foundation for the Lao national culture. At the same time we are receptive to the best things in world culture in order to make our national culture full and rich, but we definitely will not be receptive to the infiltration of the evils of foreign cultures. We do not have a narrow antiforeign attitude but we are determined to resist all infiltration of colonialist, imperialist culture, especially "the American way of life," which for many years has gradually infiltrated into the lives of people in a number of towns and other areas that were controlled by the former administration. This is a type of culture which seduces, coaxes, and persuades one to be greedy for money and be crazed for lust. It makes the little people grope for things which harm the national struggle effort, and the living conditions and health of the people. In fact the U.S. espionage or commando "teams" in cultural affairs tried to establish a culture that would supplant our ancient national culture.

A progressive, national culture has a duty to preserve and develop good customs among the people as well as resolutely to drive out the decadent customs of which not a few remain among the people of all our nationalities and are dangerous to the beliefs of the people and to national pride. They are obstacles to building a spirit of love of study and mutual love and concern as well as to progress of our peoples. Among the decadent customs remaining today, the most decadent came from American culture and "way of life" which seeped in quickly among our youth primarily to separate our younger generation from our beautiful national heritage. We must be extremely alert for the appearance of U.S. neocolonialism and must make plans to gradually eradicate it completely from our lives through our beautiful Lao customs.

Our nation has extensive, excellent cultural works and beautiful customs, many noted temples and architectural works, carved designs in relief which one encounters at every step on our land, bright folk literature, poetry, singing style, classical music, plenty of dances including marvelous ones with definite national characteristics and beats which reflect the working people and the strong self-improvement nature of the nationalities. We have drawings, paintings, and sculptures, but unfortunately there are few related to antiquities, our museum, and other cultures. For a very long time they have not been gathered completely for research, comparison, and evaluation. All of these things implore us, especially culturalists, scientists, scholars, and politicians, to conduct research with great force and intelligence in order to preserve our glorious cultural heritage for the purpose of playing a real role in the brilliant history of our nation as well as playing a role in creating our nation's future and in the civilization of Indochina, Southeast Asia, and the world.

In the struggle on the cultural front we must try to raise the substance of cultural thought which is our glorious national heritage and combine it with progressive cultural content of the era and use the moral force of national culture to educate our people and, for example, to educate our younger generation in depth and to become models. At the same time we will direct affairs and resolutely destroy the content and the occurrence of U.S. reactionary culture. The substance of our progressive national culture is love of country, countrymen, and all men; belief in our own strength and that of our united people; love for the hills and plots of grass throughout our territory; national pride; firm will to be victorious over the corrupt and immoral; respect for justice; elimination of belief in acquisitiveness and of decadent customs; etc.

We call upon and make arrangements for each person in our country who works with his hands or with his brain to put his best creative thinking into the building of our nation's economy and culture. Our working compatriots who have a heritage of diligence and patriotism, i.e., farmers in the fields and workers in factories, construction sites, garages, land routes, water routes, air routes and every place of labor or enterprise, must work with creativity and with all their strength to restore and build the fatherland and to improve their own lives and those of their families.

We call upon and make arrangements for all entrepreneurs, big or small, individual or group, in our nation who ever were involved with U.S. or other foreign economic, financial, or monetary organizations which, over a long period of time, were inimical to the interests of our nation to wipe out their past unsavory jobs and return to cooperate sincerely with us to heal the wounds of our nation and build an economic, financial, and monetary base which will serve the interests of our nation and people. This cooperation must be arranged in a spirit of mutual affection, openheartedness, and national concord for the best interests of the nation and of each individual.

Our political program pays attention to developing our nationalities in every way. This development must be based on true unity and mutual help among the nationalities so that each nationality in our big national family can develop its own heritage to a high level and at the same time accept and develop common national characteristics. It is like a valuable forest in which both large and small trees receive concentrated attention and daily develop into a vast national forest. The small trees follow the big ones using sunshine, light and other necessities to produce blossoms and fruit and to grow a hundredfold. Our forest daily plays a fitting role in the fate of the world.

Our nation since ancient times has played an important role in the lasting prosperity of Buddhism. Priests and novices have been respected by the people and, now facing our fatherland's destiny with a political program which points the way, we will play a role in the forces building the fatherland. In our religion besides a religious base, increasingly there is a Lao base and a patriotic base. The existence of our nation, a small one, depends on a spirit of diligent labor, and a spirit of mutual human affection and hospitality toward strangers. This has increased the spirit to struggle bravely for self-preservation and to build and preserve the nation. This has also increased and strengthened the historical heritage and the current glorious task of our nation which is to strengthen peace and national concord, build a prosperous economy, and to develop our cultural base and high social qualities.

The task of any nation, big or small, advancing or declining, is to be responsible for getting the intelligentsia and highly qualified people to use their intelligence and creativity to raise their own knowledge in order to play a more fitting role in building the national economy and culture. These things are not possible in a country governed by another and, if attempted under conditions of continuous war, they necessarily will be sharply restricted. Currently, peace and national concord have widened and beautified the horizons for intellectuals and the highly qualified to use their ideas and creativity in our nation's progress, in the direction and methods of reviving and expanding the economy and raising the level of culture and education based on the realities of our land in terms of current natural resources, and in doing whatever it takes to enable our country to advance quickly and solidly on the path of building a unified and abundant nation.

A part of the intellectuals who work in offices of the state, administrations, top officials, and civil servants are responsible to the people for solving and eliminating the remaining evils and dangers in the administrative machinery that dehumanize people and for wiping out experiences in the old ways of making a living in the previous era. In the new environment all comrades will have opportunities to display their patriotic spirit and the extent of their knowledge about the times in order to change both the method of government and the machinery of the state and to play roles in bringing about changes in our country on the path to independence and self-mastery.

The youth and students who are the younger generation filled with the power of our nation feel an obligation to carry on the work of the nation in a timely fashion. Therefore they have bravely displayed their desire for personal progress within the national effort. For example, they have played a fitting role in winning peace and national concord. They are the main support for the furtherance of the great, difficult, national task. They study tirelessly and train themselves to become progressive people and models for the country in order to carry out the responsibilities of restoring and building the nation, to take part in increasing the ranks of intellectuals, scientists, technicians, and artists, the highest flowering of the nation, and to guarantee a bright future for the country. The younger generation is always the symbol of the progress of the fatherland. The reality of the robust revolution in our country and the critical changes in western societies should help our younger generation have facts for comparison in order to increase their pride in the glorious task of their nation, and to know how to escape from an evil path or from the dangers of snares set by the national enemy to catch our youth. Our country which has peace, independence, and unity has its greatest hope in the younger generation which is clever and has a brave spirit for building the country. Our younger generation must make efforts to increase their knowledge in order to have the cleverness to continue the highest aspects of the nation and eliminate old blemishes unsuitable for the times as well as to adopt new things that are really good and chase away "new" things from foreign civilizations that are filled with the evil substance of neocolonialism.

Women who number about half of the citizens of our country are a great force urging on social progress. Our countless grandmothers, mothers and sisters who have gone before have been models as generous, reserved mothers and sisters who have taken strong interest in their brothers and sisters, children, and husbands in their personal lives as well as in production work and work for the nation. During the resistance against external aggression our mothers, grandmothers, aunts and sisters showed the brave spirit of the nation by fighting directly and indirectly alongside their children, husbands, and brothers or by participating in various social tasks in every aspect of public life, political life, and life in general in the areas temporarily controlled by the United States and its lackeys, and by definitely proving their capabilities. Our new image of women has destroyed old concepts and customs such as restricting women to work in the home, steaming rice and fetching water. In fact Lao women who have now gained victory must be women who take a more determined part in the work of the nation. Our mothers' spirit of love and caring for their children and husbands must be broadened to love of nation and close attention to political work, social work and national work. Our mothers are not just those who give birth to heroes, scientists and artists but themselves may be cadre, scientists and artists of high intelligence. Thus, our entire nation is compared to a paradise in which all our citizens, both male and female, are like gorgeous flowers; all have distinctive colors and are developing their occupational skills, experience, and capabilities to higher levels.

In the days to come our country will not only do completely away with old mutual hate and suspicion but will also eliminate all kinds of selfishness and devisiveness inherited from the old regime. All of us march to a single beat in participating in the life of the nation and of the era. From workers, intellectuals, the highly qualified, civil servants, and priests to soldiers bearing arms, everyone has one collective goal, to maintain national independence, democracy, and national well-being, and from there to create true closeness and harmony between the army and the people, and eliminate the atmosphere of mutual antagonism instigated by the enemy. All of these things are for the purpose of protecting the Lao nation as well as the royal household, the royal capital, the good works of Buddhism, and the prosperity and happiness of our kingdom.

The Entire Nation Acts in Unison

National consciousness has created in each of us patriotism, national spirit, and a national character of which we are very proud. From there it has created the strength to struggle for self-preservation and self-development. It is through national consciousness under the banner of clever, clear-sighted leadership on the correct path that the spirited national struggle movement has attained its present wonderful achievements.

The enemies of our nation fear this national consciousness and always consider it a target for destruction by every means such as propaganda and psychological warfare. Throughout the progressive movement's long struggle of the past nearly one-third of a century our nation's enemies sought thousands of tricks and plots to pressure our national consciousness into dissolving and to suppress our national heritage in order to serve their murky plots of aggression.

Our country is not big. It has a small population and a deprived, backward economy. But the difficulties through which generations have passed have forged a national spirit to be a strong, brave, decisive, unyielding force and have created solidarity and bright, clever, capable national heroes to lead everyone to victory over our enemies and to progress. Our history is one of a small nation with a big task. In the past our nationalities passed through periods of advanced civilization as well as low periods of overthrow and invasion. But the progressive movement of our people's struggle has created a national consciousness as the highest determinant of national progress. If history confirms that nations which have a period of glory are likely to decline or are extinguished, there have also been quite a few nations which have risen from backwardness and lowliness to the heights of human civilization.

Based on our struggles in the past as well as at present, we have been forged into a type of people who are easygoing, durable, friendly, honest, and who like others. But when we struggle against an enemy we are extremely resolute, strong, and brave. The Lao people's outward easygoing nature hides an inner strength which has accumulated over thousands of years and which tends to erupt in torrents like the cascading waters of our

Mekong River of which who would dare to say that crossing or going upstream is easy.

Because the U.S. imperialists fear our national consciousness they concentrate on attacking and destroying it, especially our consciousness and intelligence which know how to identify our enemies and to muster our strength to attack them. At the same time we know how to choose our friends. In battle the first problem is to know who are your enemies and who are your friends. The enemy tries every evil method to make us confuse friends and enemies, to consider enemies as friends and friends as enemies. They slander our glorious task of national independence with every base, evil expression.

Our people have an apt proverb, "Fall among vultures and be a vulture; fall among crows and be a crow." Westerners have a similar proverb, "Tell me whom you play with and I'll tell you what kind of person you are." How can we have friendly ties with the U.S. lackey administration, with the Thai reactionaries who have handed over Thai territory to the United States to use as a platform for carrying out their world-domination strategy in Indochina and Southeast Asia and supplied the tens of thousands of Thai mercenary troops who have come to beat, kill, and harass our people, launched aggression against our country, inserted a thick espionage network of officers to direct the war, military instructors, and spies who even now are spread through every military region, and infiltrated deeply into our country from our political machinery to parts of our economy. As for our close friends, they stood shoulder to shoulder in the struggle with us in the same foxhole, shared our joys and sorrows, and had the same objective of marshalling our strength to let the people of each of our countries save their own nation from extermination. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys ceaselessly make false accusations trying to divide us and our friends and to sow suspicions and quarreling.

The national consciousness of Laos does not merely seek quiet and protection from abroad. Definitely not. It respects the peace and happiness of others, is very openhearted toward people, and is hospitable to strangers but for these reasons will fight bravely without fear of sacrifice to attain national sovereignty, the right to life, and the freedom and honor of every individual.

This will to struggle has been passed down from one generation to another. The magic of the rivers, mountains, and forests and the blood of our forefathers are deep in our veins, bones, flesh and blood. This will has received encouragement from all the wills of this era of fervent struggle for human rights about which the enemy aggressors obstinately wanted to go against the current of history, and in the end were embarrassingly defeated. Some people are suspicious of the awakening of our younger generation. They either want to turn their backs or they pretend to deny the continuous nature of our national consciousness, but they cannot deny the seething life force and the actions of the current era that are influencing our younger generation. They are our enemies. Even though they are

cloaked in skillfully concealed neocolonialism, they are not able to pull the wool over the eyes of our younger generation. The new generation is the primary target of the imperialist colonialists' efforts to cut them off from their glorious heritage. Therefore, the enemy tries to spread the U.S. gangster life style into our country to replace our honest, easy-going, and strong way of life. They explain the "American way of life" through the theories, philosophy, psychological research, and theology of the Austrian Freud who believed that the libido was the fundamental and sole rule of life. From that it is quite normal that behavior must flow from base cravings which lead people to various actions wrapped up in the greed for money until they are crazed to the point of opposing their compatriots, their nation, and humanity. The "libido" theory of capitalist imperialism has become a product advocated by neocolonialism which encourages our people to plunder, murder, and intimidate with animal ferociousness. To elevate cohabitation between men and women in policy! They encourage worship of a way of life where one seeks personal benefit at the expense of others and believe that this is the highest purpose of each person; in this they want to change the way of life that we have inherited from our forefathers, in which if we have anything we share it, both joys and sorrows. They have brought in a way of life with burglary, robbery, prostitution, displays of nakedness in the streets and in suggestive "dark room" dancing arousing dirty images. All of this is to drug our young people to make them forget their nation and concentrate on responding to their "cravings!" They want to wipe out the quality, beauty, and virtue of Lao women that have existed since ancient times and anything shining and clean. Most of all they are trying to do away with the shyness of women through living and dress styles, relationships between men and women, and the evil of nakedness. They are spreading this way of life out of desire to do away with the beautiful image of our women, of our gracious mothers and grandmothers who love their children and husbands, and of our sweet, fragile wives and sisters, and of our men who are diligent, honest, and pure, who have complete respect for their parents, who love their brothers, sisters, children, wives and friends, and who are the pillars of their families, villages, and the nation.

These cultural activities of the U.S. imperialists have interfered in our country and come from using propaganda and cultural vehicles which receive their "orders from far away" across the Atlantic and Pacific oceans or from a nearby country on the other side of the Mekong River. This interference in our country is for no other purpose than to counter and wipe out our national consciousness and glorious heritage which enable us to preserve and develop ourselves.

The American "way of life" aroused greed for money in order to draw our people where? Nowhere other than to dishonesty and fraud for money, to sell oneself, one's friends and relatives for money, and to murder for money. This is to serve the U.S. imperialists' policy of recruiting mercenary troops and to serve their plans and policies of aggressive war. When we have defeated the enemy in the war of aggression and have actually realized the establishment of national concord, our way of life is to build the fatherland, to strengthen and expand patriotic spirit, to think of our compatriots and the people as our shared ideal. It definitely is not an ideal.

of pursuit of money, personal fun, and wicked self-indulgence. Socrates, the great ancient Greek philosopher of famous maxims spoke sarcastically about the people who consider gold to be more valuable than knowledge. The great German physicist, Einstein, speaking to his contemporaries around the turn of the century, said, "It would be better for you to shine shoes than to teach physics in a university merely to earn a living." Capitalist imperialism which generally means U.S. imperialism, which is exceedingly guilty of genocide, has made an effort to use every propaganda vehicle in order to make our people believe that money is more valuable than anything and accept the "objective" of seeking money by any means! The culture and ideals of our nation and era firmly oppose and repel this dirty culture, propaganda, and education.

As for us, we are born to "struggle for life and freedom." As the noted German poet and thinker, Goethe, wrote in his greatest work, "Faust," to illustrate the most splendid ideals, "When war rages, I ask first to be a soldier."

The great English poet, Shakespeare, declared through his famous character, Hamlet, "A person--a marvelous creation!" That is really true. Real people from birth live in the midst of love and affection. Later they have to struggle against enemies who threaten, exploit, and enslave them simply to protect their lives and their right to love. People who live under capitalist imperialism have dishonestly fabricated claims that revolutionaries are people who condone murder and war as their reason for life. However, they are people who wreak misfortune, injury, suffering, and death on people while cloaking themselves in the fiction of saving people, "preserving peace," and creating happiness for the whole world. In fact they have tried and are trying every method of dirty propaganda and deception to distort the good essence of revolutionaries who are people who love and cherish life, protect love among people above all else and, by protecting people's lives, protect love among those people. Revolutionaries have sacrificed even their lives to win the valuable things sacred to mankind such as the right to a life of love and happiness. From a deep awakening about the meaning and purpose of life, revolutionaries temper themselves to have the strength to fight and the will to defeat the enemy, guaranteeing that the revolution will be completely victorious. In fact when all people wake up to the true ideal of life, they will live to serve the nation, the people, and mankind. This is the most splendid quality of man. This splendid quality is honorable and pridesworthy and our forefathers and our compatriots have sacrificed their flesh and blood to give it and posterity to us.

The past nearly one-third of a century of struggle with old and new colonialism has been a struggle on all fronts. Besides the armed and political struggles there has been the struggle between two systems of thought: the colonialist imperialist system of thought always confronts and attempts to wipe out the system of our national heritage which has been strengthened by the era. Besides the great and historically significant victory in the armed and political struggles, our national system of thought has won victory over old and new colonialist systems of thinking. However, ordinarily

struggles between systems of thought are extremely fierce and long. While the U.S. imperialists and their allies have been forced to give up their armed aggression against our country, they have not abandoned the psychological and philosophical war against our nation or against fraternal peoples in Indochina and throughout the world. This is an area in which the U.S. imperialists have concentrated the most interest and massed the greatest forces, and, the more they suffer war defeats, the more effort they put into the psychological and philosophical war against our nation specifically and mankind in general. As a result at this time more than any other all of us must raise our sense of responsibility for protecting and expanding our beautiful Lao national consciousness to make it a more fervent revolutionary wave in our daily lives, in our struggle and in production. We must make it a new life force in every aspect of life in our nation. Happiness is not just a picture for us to look at, not just a song for us to sing and dance for relaxation. We must make it a new force capable of moving mountains to the sea, of building vast wealth for our nation, of creating new capabilities for the fatherland, and of being a force to completely block and wipe out every unjust force which attacks us from the surrounding reactionary powers. National consciousness which is valued by our Lao people must be transformed into effective action in our nation-building task and play a role in the happiness and development of mankind. Ordinarily, the thoughts and values of a nation or a person cannot be transformed into truly effective action through debate alone unless it goes through organization. Each of us has the duty to serve the fatherland and the people voluntarily and with dedication to duty.

We must have significant documents which specify the duties of individuals and organizations and sets procedures, and systems so each organization and citizen can contribute their strength and intelligence to the work of the fatherland and of revolution. Our country and society will have organization and planning. We know well that when consciousness soaks into the masses and when the masses want to take action for themselves, then that consciousness and that spirit will become a power that no one can defeat. That power lies in action. Each person in our entire nation will act vigorously and in unison to improve the fruits that we have won and to expand and broaden them to make our entire nation progress.

In the immediate future we must encourage and join the broad, deep movement to support national concord which supports the task of national concord and constitutes collective action. This is the Provisional Government of National Union, the National Political Council of Coalition and the entire operating program of our nation. We might raise the slogan, "Struggle resolutely for peace, independence, and national concord." This will be a hard, broad struggle to eliminate the destructive plots and tricks opposing the sacred work of our fatherland. None of us forgets for a moment that we should pour all of our efforts into the national task and not forgive any enemy actions aimed at destroying the tasks of our fatherland. We think in concert and act in concert. It is certain that along with the urgent work of the immediate future, nothing can limit our efforts and intelligence to take part in other great, long-term work related to the work of our nation.

In Lieu of a Summary

We are living in an era of rapid and amazing change. Socially, in only half a century nearly one-third of mankind has escaped from countless generations of slavery and suffering and is building a completely different new society. The whole world is rising up in the three waves of revolutionary struggle and is encouraging historical change and building a new era. In science and technology, new people are inventing great things in mankind's present era. If we think back 10 years or less there have been new discoveries that have meant qualitative change for our knowledge and the well-being of mankind. Countless old knowledge and concepts have been overturned. Mankind today can see with their own eyes the changes of the era which have shaken the foundations of old, reactionary, backward, and crumbling systems, institutions, and organizations.

Our three million people are extremely honored to have climbed up to the level of the era and have played a small role in changing the course of history. The old, outmoded ways of thinking, attitudes, and work methods must be erased and replaced with new thinking, attitudes, and work methods. The evaluation of a nation or an individual should not depend on knowledge and understandings that have eroded away or on phenomena that have degenerated. Superficial, external phenomena must be derived from the history, heritage, and true physical conditions which determined the progress and growth of a nation or individual, because in this marvelous age of ours a nation or individual who was unknown yesterday but with its accumulated strength and untapped mineral deposits may today raise itself and gush out like a mighty river and be capable of destroying old thinking and reactionary influences and of writing a glorious new page of history. We understand well the thousand and one difficulties which are and will be obstacles to the glorious but difficult progress of our nation. However, it is clear that past glory, present power, and the future bright progress of our nation and each individual place a heavy burden on us. Each one of us within his own job status must accept the responsibility before history and the era; understand more clearly the duties of our nation and era; eliminate old concepts and ways of thinking; strive to learn the truth and train and temper himself; concentrate his strength and intelligence in order to participate in his group and his nation; and strive to reform himself in order to take part in the great work of the nation, of leading our beloved fatherland to higher advances and brighter progress as befits our heritage and the great accomplishments our nation has achieved and as befits our great era. Everyone in our nation must do like the famous Prince Phomnuvong of ancient Lao mythology who bravely crossed volcanoes and boiling rivers to get to his beloved. Our beloved is our Lao fatherland, peace, independence, neutrality, democracy, unity, and lasting prosperity. In this glorious era we will continue advancing to new and brighter heights.

Lao New Year, 1975

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